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Cover story: this magazine's only 100



A Vision Of Unity

They arrived from Whitehorse, Vancouver, Edmonton, Halifax and many places in between to a crowded hotel resort, Le Château Montebello, 100 km west of Montreal. They were selected by Decima Research, one of the country's top polling firms, and Marleau's as representatives of the clusters of thought that, taken together, provide an accurate picture of the nation's collective character. They had met once before, six months earlier in southern Ontario, to see if they could agree on a common vision of a united Canada in which all of them, from Quebec separatists to lifelong federalists, would feel at home. At the time, working with Roger Fisher and two colleagues from the Harvard University-affiliated Conflict Management Group, they passed through stages of hostility, anger and contention to produce what they described as a vision of such a country. At Montebello, over a four-day period, they went through many of the same stages—but they produced a remarkable, detailed blueprint of constitutional changes that all 22 of them agreed would produce a finally united country.

They were assisted again by Fisher and his colleagues, and they received invaluable advice from politicians: Marleau, Tony and Dorothy Dobson and Tony Sinclair. Gerald Beaulieu, both co-leaders of the parliamentary committee on the Constitution, former Ontario Liberal premier David Peterson, New Israel Liberal MP Paul Martin, and Saskatchewan NDP MP Louis Stortens. To a skeptical observer, the most striking outcome of the talks was a palpable sense of Canadian-ness, undefined and perhaps undefinable, that emerged. It was a grand bond, a deeply sensed feeling of common and potential destinies.

Marleau's created the forum not as a means of advancing a specific kind of country, or even one country, but as a way of telling a critically important story in a different, more interesting and more realistic way than is usually the case with constitutional issues. The 22 members of the forum and those who worked with them made that task both possible and exciting.

Kennedy Doyle



Marleau's Montebello conference organizer Anthony Wilson-Smith: a detailed blueprint

Maclean's

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PASSAGES

APPOINTED: An chief justice of the Federal Court of Canada, **Jahna Isaac**, 63, by former Minister Jeanne Maloney. Born in Grenada, Isaac has practised law in Alberta, Saskatchewan and Ontario. He joined the justice department in 1971 and most recently has served as a judge of the Ontario Court of Justice. Maloney said that the appointment of Isaac, who is black, confirms the contribution that visible minorities are making in Canada.



DIED: Mary Kinslear, 31, one of Canada's first female members, is hospitalized in St. Catharines, Ont. A former president of the Women's Labour Federation of Canada, Kinslear encouraged women to become involved in the political process. During her colorful life, she once worked as a cement chugger and the designed and made her own clothes. Prime Minister Lester Pearson appointed her to the upper chamber in 1967. She retired on her 75th birthday, in 1973.

DIED: Elizabeth Bransly, 85, a former journalist and national president of UNICAP Canada, of cancer, in her Halifax home. Bransly was a reporter for the Halifax Chronicle Herald and a feature writer and columnist for the now-defunct Toronto Telegram.

APPOINTED: As U.S. secretary of commerce, **Barbara Pennington**, 51, by President George Bush. Many business leaders said that they welcomed the action, adding that they expect the appointment of Pennington, a former member of the President's advisory committee on trade policy and negotiations, to increase American exports as a way of helping the country recover from the recession. Recently, the commerce department has been overshadowed by other agencies in helping to formulate the Bush administration's economic policy.

DIED: Gen. **Richard Stilwell**, 74, retired senior commander of United Nations forces in South Korea, of cardiac arrest, in a hospital in Falls Church, Va. Stilwell served with the American army in the Second World War, the Korean War and the Vietnam War, when he was shot at twice. Gen. William Westmoreland, commander of U.S. forces, Stilwell took up his 104th duties in Korea in 1953 and retired three years later.

DIED: Pioneer radio operator **Rev. Harold Ross**, 96, in Burlington, Ont. Ross was a Baptist minister. Very popular and one of the first efforts to order reports of the huge explosion of a munitions ship in Halifax Harbor in 1917 during the First World War. The explosion killed about 1,600 people and injured about 9,000 more. After the war, Ross was ordained a Presbyterian minister.



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AN ACTION PLAN FOR CANADA

In the six months since their first taciturn greetings to each other, they have traded thoughts, letters, expressions and, on occasion, moved one another to laughter and tears. Last June, at the invitation of Maclean's, 12 Canadians met for three days at a northern Ontario resort. There, often long into the night, they discussed the convolutions that divided them—and the resolutions that still bound them. The group, including federalists, a representative of aboriginal peoples, and Quebec sovereignists, debated the intricacies of the country's past and whether they could agree on a vision for its future. In the end, they produced a 38-page statement of "joint suggestions" aimed at now-waiting Canadians before in their country and in themselves.

Last month, Maclean's brought the same 12 people together again. They exchanged the outdoor heat of their late-summer retreat and the actual coolness of that first encounter for the wrothy chill around the gracious Chateau Montebello in Quebec—and the warmth of old friends reuniting.

For their challenge was no less daunting. Their mandate, according to discussion leader Roger Fisher of the Harvard Negotiation Project, was to "generate advice for all Canadians" on how the country should prepare for the future. At Montebello, the group studied the federal government's current constitutional proposal and discussed ways in which its interests might affect the lives of all Canadians. Then, they sought agreement on accepting, rejecting or modifying the federal plan.

In the end, the forum's decision-makers endorsed a formula for renewed federalism and a statement of shared Canadian values. It amounts to a detailed blueprint for a country that all 12 members—including well-described Quebec sovereignists Charles Dugas and Marc Lévesque—could comfortably live in. Despite his convictions, explained Dugas, "If there is a [constitutional] proposition on the table that satisfies me, I'd be crazy to say so just for the pleasure of saying so."

As demonstrated in the eighth annual Maclean's/Dominion poll that forms a part of this special issue (pages 48 to 67), the forum's work took place against the backdrop of a populace that is tired of the constitutional debate, gloomy and anxious over the economic outlook and exasperated by politicians and political disputes. Still, the survey indicates that Canadians are prepared to compromise in their attitudes towards political change in order to achieve a constitutional settlement.

These sentiments were far the most just strongly shared by the participants in the Montebello discussion. But their understanding was particularly difficult because, to accurately reflect the conflicting opinions across the country, Maclean's had selected them specifically because of their sharply differing visions of Canada. Last spring, Dominic Ross, the magazine's regular pollster, analysed its data banks to identify the most patterns of opinion that form the national psyche. Dominant identified six warring clusters of thought, ranging from Firm Federalists to Quebec World Separatists. Maclean's editorial staff, working with names of individuals that Domin provided, selected 11

participants to reflect those clusters. Maclean's then chose one other participant, native Canadian Carol Goddard, from outside the process because traditional polling methods do not produce a representative sampling from the nation's native communities.

To lead the group's Montebello discussion, Maclean's again turned to Fisher, founder of the Cambridge, Mass.-based Harvard Negotiation Project, the recognized world leader in the burgeoning field of conflict resolution. Fisher, 68, pioneered the theory of "principled negotiation"—through which the search for shared interests replaces arguments over non-negotiable demands. He and other members of his group work in many of the world's trouble-spots, including Yugoslavia, the former Soviet Union and the Middle East.

To help the 12 have a more realistic understanding of the complexities of their task, Maclean's invited five current and former politicians known for their expertise in constitutional matters to attend as observers and advisers. They were Senator Gerald Bostean and Winnipeg Conservative MP Dorothy Dobbin, the co-leaders of the parliamentary committee on constitutional reform; Montreal Liberal MP Paul Martin; Saskatchewan NDP MP Loren Syme; and former Ontario premier David Peterson.

The group's conclusions are notable above all for their common sense, clarity—and the substantial grist at the negotiation of shared Canadian values. "Rather than focusing on differences and letting them divide us," the group says in a letter to fellow Canadians, "we can appreciate those differences as valuable, worthwhile and essential to our Canada. Let us reconsider the similarities that make us all Canadians first" (page 60).

They also produced a joint letter to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney (page 38) and a list of specific recommendations to the government on how to make the present proposals more palatable to Canadians (page 26). Those recommendations touch on such constitutional issues as how—and whether—to treat the prospectus of Quebec as a distinct society, the rights of aboriginal people to self-government, and Senate reform. Their conclusions elicited enthusiastic responses from the constitutional experts who watched the process unfold as well as from outside observers. Bostean, a former dean of law at the University of Ottawa, told the group "You have done truly remarkable work." Said University of Toronto political scientist Richard Simeon: "This is the kind of settlement that we are going to have to reach."

Still, this shared consensus clearly held different weight for many. Dugas and Lévesque, the two Quebec sovereignists, said as they departed that it is still likely that only a sovereign Quebec can meet their needs. But, Lévesque added, "Separatism may not in the end be necessary." In the agreement that the forum members reached, and in the personal bonds that developed among them, they concluded that what unites them is more important than what divides them. On a much larger scale—and with far higher stakes—that is the essence of the choice that Quebecers and other Canadians will now be asked to make in 1992.

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH



Forum members and discussion leaders during a break at Le Chateau Montebello: pride in shared Canadian values

Twelve Citizens, 12 Viewpoints

Forum members hold firm personal convictions



Miller (left), Dupuis, Gervais-Schoeller, Plan the search for solutions around shared federalism and cooperation

They make their homes in communities that span the nation—from Nova Scotia's Annapolis Valley to the east to Vancouver in the northwest. Their convictions about their country are equally diverse. Some of the 12 participants in the Maclean's national forum, scheduled to take place in a meeting last June, came to the December gathering at La Chatrie Montebello with divergent opinions and, frankly, ideas. Some said that the troubled economy had displaced the Constitution as Canada's most pressing problem. But all agreed that the time had come to begin the discussion among Canadians not running out. The participants:

ROBERT MILLER

In his professional life, Miller is a Richmond, B.C., Crown prosecutor accustomed to dealing with murderers and other violent criminals. But during the Montebello weekend, he was acting as defence of a (would-be) felon. Miller's goal, he told fellow participants, was to

hold "one while Canada committed to looking after Canadians in a way that makes me proud to continue to be Canadian."

To that end, the 44-year-old father of two sought support for an agreement to promote increased commitment to Canadian citizenship such as the CMC, the voter and a national rail service. His wife was given voice in the group's final letter to the Prime Minister. Miller was also a force during efforts to recognize distinct society status for Quebecers. Said Miller: "It's a widely held misconception that we're giving Quebec something better—it isn't expensive." Miller said he has re-examined his views on Quebec since taking part in the two meetings. Said Miller: "Other provinces have special deals. Why can't we just agree on it?"

CHARLES DUPUIS

A cartoonist lawyer from St-Thérèse, Que., Dupuis lives off a low base, performs credible impersonations of crasser Bing Crosby and possesses a sparkling sense of humor

But on the issue of Quebec's destiny, Dupuis takes a tough line. Declined the 34-year-old father of seven children: "I was a sovereigntist yesterday and I'll be a sovereigntist tomorrow."

But Dupuis explained more accurately that "I came here to get something down on 'distinct.' That was my main goal. If that passes and it stays, it was worth the time." Indeed, Dupuis willingly signed the Montebello agreement that "nearly" endorsed distinct status for Quebec as "a historical fact and current reality that enriches the lives of all Canadians." Said Dupuis: "It is a proposition on the table that, whether or not, I'd be happy to say just for the pleasure of saying so." In his final remarks to the participants, Dupuis said: "I really appreciate the open-mindedness of everybody because, objectively, it just always like that in the real world."

WOLFGANG SCHOELLER

Since the initial Montebello forum, the Edmonton social work lecturer said, her commitment to federalism has strengthened. Said Gervais-Schoeller: "I can get quite emotional when it comes to Canadian unity. I want Canada whole—I don't want it split." Indeed, that sentiment, expressed fiercely during an emotional moment, served to break an impasse at a crucial moment in the weekend meetings.

Gervais-Schoeller arrived at the Montebello meeting seeking a resolution that would support distinct status for Quebec. As well, she sought a declaration on Senate reform that would accommodate concerns of fellow westerners and a provision for self-government for aboriginals. Gervais-Schoeller, a 54-year-old mother of two, also wanted support for the maintenance of social programs, along with national associations such as the CMC and the National Film Board. Said Gervais-Schoeller: "They are important—they reflect us to ourselves."

COLE FINE

The youngest of the 12 participants at Montebello, the 32-year-old computer software sales executive made the most radical change among group members since the June meeting. Fine moved from the Ottawa south to California to establish an office for his Canadian-owned company near San Francisco. He called it "an opportunity I couldn't pass up." Fine, an electrical engineer, said that his departure was made easier for him by "what is going on in Canada. I think it's getting worse."

As the Montebello weekend began, Fine expressed concern that the group would not address economic questions that he said were "intrinsically linked" to constitutional issues. Explained Fine: "In the end, we've got to look beyond the economy and see what we have to do to make Canada more globally competitive." He added: "I'm happy the first great being

believed that "Canada doesn't know much about one another." He said that another major concern is the lack of national leadership. Said Fine: "We've been around and around and around with all these public consultations. Something has to be done and done quickly."

CIVIL MILITARY

Since last summer's meeting of the Montreal forum, the 50-year-old Alton, who is manager of a Montreal-based security vaults firm, found himself spending more time considering the health and fate of the troubled nation. Said Alton: "Things have taken a turn for the worse—and not just in Canada, but the world in general." Like other group members, he said that the nation's economic malaise could be addressed. Said the Quebec-born Canadian: "If we don't, the other things we need are not going to come about."

that resulted in the drafting of the group's letter to the Prime Minister. That letter reflected Collings' conviction that any constitutional agreement must move Canadian agents as much as their interests. She said she particularly wanted to reach an understanding that would satisfy Quebec sovereigntists. Dupuis and Marie LeBeau, said Collings: "I thought we faced a much tougher challenge this time. But it happened—we became a team again."

KAREN ADAMS

The 34-year-old Toronto-based designer was initially reluctant to return for Montebello's second forum because she had concluded that his opinion was misplaced. Declined Adams: "I'm sick of hearing about the Constitution. The economy is the number 1 problem—people at all levels are losing their jobs." As a result, Adams was one of several who would



Paul (left), Alton; Collings, Adams: despite divisions, they agree that there is little time to rebuild Canada



addressed to the Prime Minister in the economy in the last go-round (in June), the economy was not as high a priority.

JOHN PAUL

A Berwick, N.S., high-school biology teacher, team co-leader and coach of two local hockey teams, Paul already had many commitments when he was selected to take part in the Montebello forum. But the 52-year-old father of five embraced the task of setting a new course for Canada with enthusiasm. Said Paul: "What could be more important?" He said that his views had evolved since the group's initial meeting last June. On the issue of recognizing Quebec as a distinct society, he said: "I realize they're not talking about getting an advantage—they're talking about preserving a culture." Similarly, his views on self-government for aboriginal peoples have shifted because now, he said, "I have a far better understanding."

One of Paul's major preoccupations is his

But Alton, a bilingual resident of the east Montreal suburb of Anjou, also said that Canada's two major language groups should better understand each other. Said Alton: "People are making decisions about one another without really being clear to their minds about what they may mean." Of the meeting, Alton said: "I was very happy. We were able to listen to each other."

KAREN COLLINGS

Karen Collings, a 44-year-old nurse from Berwick, Ont., on the Niagara Peninsula, said that her life was invigorated by the June meeting. Back home, she gave a speech at a conference on telephone-transcription relations about her experience, along with a series of newspaper and radio interviews. Collings and her family travelled from a U.S. vacation and instead visited co-participants Charles Dupuis in suburban Montreal and Sheila Simpson and John Paul in the Maritimes.

At the Montebello forum, the last discussions

to place economic concerns high on the agenda. Of the problems gripping the country, Adams declared: "I'm a little irritant, but I was not there—a little more civility-minded." But she remains a federalist who says that whenever a new constitutional package is formulated should reflect the deeply felt passion and warmth Canadians feel towards their country. Said Adams: "Let's embrace the language." Before departing, she said she was satisfied with the wording of the Montebello statement: "I feel really proud of what we have been able to accomplish."

ROBERT LALANDE

Lalonde, 48, of Gatineau, Que., wore a Maple Leaf pin on his chest during the weekend meetings. And in his opening address to the 12 co-participants, he wore his federalist heart on his sleeve. An impassioned speaker, who works in a technology-oriented specialty for Xerox of Canada, Lalonde Canada to "an attempt in a special day." He added: "There's a lot of mistrust, a lot of

anger, staring people across the country." Lefebvre, the son of two former refugees, said that the presence of politicians from three major political parties at Montebello provided no real surprise. "We found out that the politicians are not in some ivory tower," he said. "I have a feeling that they have real concerns about trying to make the country work." Describing himself as "an eternal optimist," Lefebvre said that Canadians must strive to connect together. At the end of the meeting, he said he felt "much more positive" than he did after the previous gathering in June. Said Lefebvre, "We have to work as a team, and I believe people can do that."

CAROL GEDDIS

Business writer and member of the Council Council, the 49-year-old Geddis has a Canadian work schedule. A Tynes Island from Watrous, she commutes to Edmonton, where she is executive producer of the National Film Board's *Studio 1*, devoted to producing films in native issues. Geddis flew back to Canada from a business trip to Australia just hours before the Montebello meeting was to begin. But she didn't miss her original desire of active "Canadian" content. Declared Geddis: "First Nations issues are first with me."

Geddis was initially reluctant to take part in a second round of the *Maclean's* group discussion. "At first, I thought I'm not going to go and play games with mainstream people," she said, but then she decided that the process reflected "the wider world," adding: "I think in fact this was my perspective." At the end of the meeting, Geddis was particularly pleased that the group's discussion included a clause that would enable aboriginals to develop self-government "as they themselves shall from time to time decide."

Lefebvre (left), Geddis: a Quebec nationalist and a passionate supporter of native rights



Simpson (left), Lefebvre: Maritime interests and an outcast over distinct society

SHARON SIMPSON

Simpson, a shop owner and community college business teacher from St. Andrews, N.B., says that Canadians face a two-fold dilemma in the context of this discussion. On the one hand, says Simpson, a 47-year-old mother of two teenagers, Canadians must avoid an emotional pend by nurturing national symbols that would draw these closer together. At the same time, she adds, close attention must be paid to the detail, logic and consequences of any proposed changes to the Canadian Constitution.

Although the documents emerging from the Montebello weekend did not fully address that concern, her thoughts on the issue of Quebec reform were clearly reflected in the final outcome. Simpson argued forcefully that amends should be directed to a constituency base. That would mean that in the case of New Brunswick, French language Acadia could elect their own senator. But a larger worry she shares with other Maritimers is that of Quebec secession. Said Simpson: "There are some pretty dark scenarios for us if Quebec secedes."

MARIE LEFEBVRE

The meeting was only 14 hours old when a display of emotion by Marie Lefebvre shuttled the table assembly to their Chairman Montebello meeting room. Lefebvre, a Quebec secessionist, threw up her hands during a discussion of a distinct society clause for her native province and exclaimed: "I won't agree with that. I don't want that. To me that is Chinese."

Lefebvre, a 47-year-old federal civil servant and mother of a 20-year-old daughter, explained how that her outburst came because "I had the feeling there was a bottleneck and I was being pushed through it—like a car." In the end, Lefebvre was mollified when the group agreed on a final mandate with a statement recognizing Quebec's distinctiveness. Still, in the Montebello participants left after three days of deliberation, Lefebvre said "I remain profoundly unconvinced" that, she said, "Separation may not in the end be necessary." Said Lefebvre of her fellow participants: "There needs and beliefs are open. From there, we can go anywhere—and everywhere."

GUEN ALLEN and JAMES STEVENSON

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Gaining Strength From Diversity

How a forum of 12 diverse Canadians came together to write a detailed blueprint

Throughout the day, as snow slowly blanketed the grounds of Le Château Montebello, the 12 Maclean's forum members wrestled with the gut-wrenching issue of Quebec's place in Canada. Most of them insisted that Quebec should not receive special treatment; they drafted a narrow list of Quebec's differences from the rest of Canada, carefully noting that the definition did not confer more power. But two Quebecers, lawyer Charles Dugas and federal civil servant Marie LeBlanc—self-described sovereigntists—chided at the attempt to define and limit their society. They dismissed the rest of the group's attitude towards Quebec as patronizing. By late Saturday afternoon, all the participants appeared calm and amiable. Dugasman was desiccated. Finally, former Ontario premier David Peterson inspired them to shake off their sour, resentful

members concentrated on those issues that they considered most important for national unity, the recognition of Quebec as a distinct society. Senate reform and the guarantee of self-government for aboriginal peoples. At the same time, they reluctantly discarded several key proposals in the 59-page package that the federal government tabled in September. For one thing, they rejected the claim that Ottawa required new powers in the Constitution to manage a modern economy. In the end, they pared their constitutional proposals to eight concise pages, including letters to their fellow Canadians, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and the special parliamentary committee that is now examining the Constitution. As the 12 wrote to Mulroney: "We justly endorse these recommendations. Our doing so served to remind us of the ability Canadians have as a people to come together and gather strength from their diversity."

Although the forum members came from all regions of the nation and held sharply different views about the nature of federalism, they found that they shared many profound values. Almost all of them expressed a visceral dislike of any proposal that could lead to "weak government." They complained that politicians were spending too much time on confusing constitutional issues while the economy floundered. And they shared a reluctance to endorse new principles in the Constitution—unless politicians could prove that they were absolutely necessary. At the same time, they asked what they cherished about Canada: their families, their homes, their communities and the very nature of the country that allowed their cultural differences to thrive.

That realization sparked a generosity of spirit: the forum members agreed that the nation was strong enough to accommodate the needs of vastly different groups. They drafted a more powerful "distinct society" clause for Quebec. They endorsed stronger representation for the West in the Canadian Senate. They welcomed self-government for native peoples. Said University of Toronto political scientist Richard



Simon. "This is an astounding level of agreement that arose in the fundamental first-order constitutional problems. This actually widely divergent group of citizens has shown that a constitutional consensus is within our grasp. It is now up to the politicians—and to the rest of us—to ensure that it happens."

The group modified the federal constitutional proposals, sometimes only slightly, sometimes much more radically. Their changes:

THE DISTINCT SOCIETY

The federal government proposed that the Charter of Rights and Freedoms should be interpreted to take account of "the preservation and promotion of Quebec's distinct society within Canada." It provided a partial definition of distinct society, noting that it includes a French-speaking majority, a unique culture and a civil law tradition. That proposal was designed to reassure the rest of Canada: the placement of the contentious distinct society clause in the charter

would prevent it from affecting other parts of the Constitution—such as the division of powers.

The group was clearly wary of that proposal. The Quebecers recalled the narrow definition. Said Dugas: "A society is distinct on all kinds of criteria. They are trying to simplify this idea to three specific points, and I think it is an error." Many non-Quebecers, in turn, said that they feared that the clause conferred special benefits on Quebec. Ontario-born computer software sales executive Colin Fries, for one, declared: "People do not want to think of Quebec as better—and they interpret this as Quebec having more." Those non-Quebecers insisted that the distinct society clause stipulate that it would not give more power to the people of Quebec than to the people of any other province. They also wanted the clause to state that Quebec was not "better or worse" than any other province. The debate simmered until Peterson intervened, pointing out how negative the group's definition had become. Skarled, they shifted their approach.

The group's clause contains two corollaries—and

Regulations expert Roger Fisher (center) works with forum participants on a draft of recommendations: group members concentrate on those issues that they consider most important for national unity—the recognition of Quebec as a distinct society, Senate reform and the guarantee of self-government for native people



Le Château Montebello: We jointly endorse these recommendations. Our doing so served to remind us of the ability Canadians have as a people to come together and gather strength from their diversity.

woods. Declared Peterson: "We ought warmly endorse the recognition of Quebec as a distinct society, not begrudgingly, but warmly." That simple generosity apparently flattered the group. Heads began to nod. In a unanimous hour of goodwill, they accepted Peterson's proposal—and compromised on a single more controversial constitutional issue in Canada.

That compromise was the first step towards the development of a workable constitutional package. For the remainder of the weekend, group



on-coaching—addition. First, it states that the distinct society definition "is not limited in any way" to those aspects in the federal proposal. As well, it stipulates, "This section in no way affects the rights outside Quebec of any person." The group acknowledged that Quebecers might choose to favor collective rights over individual rights according to passions their heritage. But, the focus members continued, "The distinctiveness of Quebec is a historical fact and a current reality that enriches the lives of all Canadians." Said Sweeney, "I love the spirit. This is a huge reaching out to Quebec."

NATIVE RIGHTS

The federal proposal would recognize the aboriginal right to self-government—although implementation of that right may require 50 years. There is no legal definition of self-government; the proposal says that Ottawa, the provinces and the territories should negotiate with native groups to establish agreements. If after 10 years, there is no agreement on what self-government entails, nations would still receive the right—and the courts would define the concept.

Although the 12 participants were sympathetic to native claims, some of them worried that the tentacles of unfettered—and unlimited—rights might have serious consequences. Crown prosecutor Richard Miller of Richmond, B.C., for one, said that native groups wanted immediate recognition of their right to self-government—before that right was defined. Declared Miller, "You are saying to us, 'You must agree as well as your car. And once you have agreed to do that, then we will discuss peace and succumbance.'" Repaid Yulian, then-maker Carol Gendron, a Tlingit leader, "But it is not your car. That's the whole bloody thing. You think it is your car and it is not your car." She said that native groups had governed themselves long before Europeans arrived on the continent and

From members in consultation, they passed their constitutional proposals to eight advisory groups, including letters in their yellow envelopes. Police Minister Arne Whelan and the parliamentary committee now examining the Constitution

that they had never forsaken that right. But she insisted that self-government has different meanings for different native groups. "We understand it is going to be very hard to define."

In the end, members of the group again compromised. In a groundbreaking discussion, they recognized that aboriginal nations are "inherent" right to self-government that Ottawa could not grant or take away. They added that native rights included the right to preserve their distinct societies and values, to govern their civil activities as education and education, and to be involved in the criminal justice system. They conceded that forms of self-government would vary widely among regions and cultures, but they stipulated that "the rights of First Nations peoples shall be concerned in ways that respect the rights of others." Where there was conflict between natives and non-natives, they decided, the courts should settle unassisted disputes.

Experts called the group's proposal more generous than Ottawa's. University of Toronto law professor Patrick Mackinnon particularly approved of the use of the word "inherent" and the elimination of the 10-year delay in implementation. As well, he applauded the group's attempt to define self-government as a good way to increase non-natives. But he cautioned that their good intentions might backfire in two areas. The right to "open-run" aboriginal societies, he added, might protect only traditional forms of self-government—and prevent natives from modernizing. The participants' decision to distinguish between civil and

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critical matters also conflicts with the approach of most aboriginal leaders. Maclean: "In any First Nation culture, that doctrine is also—they do not divide the universe of wagers." Still, he said, "The tone is one of reaching out—and that is constructive."

SENATE

The federal proposals call for an overhaul of Canada's appointed upper house. Ottawa now selects the members of the 104-seat Senate according to an antiquated formula that, among other shortcomings, gives four seats to tiny Prince Edward Island and six seats to British Columbia, which has almost 25 times the population. In his plea, Ottawa calls for an elected Senate with "such some equitable" provincial and territorial representation, but does not recommend any specific formula for distributing those seats. The new Senate could defer most House of Commons legislation, but it could only delay "matters of critical

importance," such as defence, for no more than six months. Still affecting language and culture would require the approval of a so-called double majority—that is, a majority of both francophone and anglophone senators. Finally, under Ottawa's proposals, the Senate would lose its power to defuse—or even review—government money bills required for day-to-day business.

The forum members agreed that the Senate should be changed to reflect the interests of both indigenous Canadians and their regions. They called for a greater "voice" for the West, indicating that the four western provinces should have as many seats as Ontario and Quebec combined. (The West, with 24 seats, now has half the representation of Central Canada.) They rejected some current demands that the provinces should have an equal number of seats, arguing that it would be unfair because of the huge demographic population. But they endorsed the government's call for an elected Senate. And they agreed that senators should have fixed 10-year terms—with Senate and House of Commons elections to be held in different years.

But the group members were reluctant to allow the Senate to overrule the Commons. As a result, they stipulated that the Senate could not veto any legislation—only delay it for up to six months. They did agree with the federal proposal that a double majority of anglophone and francophone senators must approve legislation dealing with language and culture. Said University of Calgary political scientist Roger Gibney: "It is going to be difficult to have elected senators who have their hands tied in terms of the power that they can exercise. But the main thing is that the group started to make headway in terms of cracking the issue of the number of seats."

ECONOMIC UNION

The federal proposal is a complicated package designed to modernize the Canadian economy in an increasingly competitive world. Although the Constitution Act, 1867, prohibits international trade, it has not prevented the use of non-tariff barriers in products such as beer. Now, Ottawa wants to amend the Constitution to remove all barriers that impede trade and business operations across provincial borders. The federal proposal would guarantee freedom of movement to all "persons, goods, services and capital." It would also give extensive power to Parliament to pass laws "in relation to any matter that is declared to be for the efficient functioning of the economic union." Those laws would require the approval of seven provinces with at least 50 per cent of the population.

Members of the group repeatedly expressed their over-whelming concern about the state of the Canadian economy. Said trade lawyer Karen Adams of Toronto: "People think, 'I'll not have enough money to put food on the table, I don't care about the Constitution.' And they applied that to the removal of trade barriers among provinces. Said Miller: "It is a breakdown issue to increase economic efficiency." But they shared a distance for completing—and delaying—the constitutional talks by projecting economic concerns. As well, they were reluctant to embrace economic policies in the Constitution. Said Colin Foss: "Economic policies have to be dynamic, able to change."

In the end, the members of the Maclean's national forum forcefully supported the removal of trade barriers, but they said that the goal should be achieved through negotiations between the provinces and the federal government. After a protracted discussion with Montreal Liberal MP Paul Martin, they proposed that a consensual tribunal should be established to enforce free trade among the provinces. But they resolutely refused to give new economic powers to Ottawa, making that strong regional and national economies can "best be achieved outside the Constitution."

Experts were divided on the value of the group's decisions.



Forum participants saying their farewell to a nine-month approach to problems that have haunted Canada.

said that the council would only lead to "more government."

As well, members of the group gave little support to the Canada clause, a general statement that would list 14 aspects of Canada's character, including the "special responsibility" borne by Quebec to preserve and promote its distinct society. "They did not include the possibility of a Canada clause, but they said that Prime Minister should focus his attention on the protection of such national institutions as the CBC and the Metroland Film Board in order to foster a stronger sense of what it means to be Canadian," Queen's University dean of law John Hogg suggested that the Canada clause did not stir the participants because it is so infrequently written. But Hogg disagreed with their decision that the clause was not vital. "One should not underestimate the importance to Quebec of the distinct society elements in the Canada clause."

DIVISION OF POWERS

The federal proposals on division of powers would allow Ottawa to transfer management of the provinces, to recognize their exclusive jurisdiction over an area, including tourism, and to negotiate constitutional agreements in the areas of culture and immigration with individual provinces. As well, Ottawa and any province would be able to delegate powers to one another.

Initially, the 12 members appeared overwhelmed by the complexity of that proposal. Many of them appeared to view the issue as a turf war between the provinces and the federal government. But many of them were dissatisfied by the possibility that the proposals could allow Quebec to negotiate special arrangements with the federal government that might erode what they saw as the principle of equal treatment for all provinces. They explained that special arrangements have always been part of Canadian history—and part of the Constitution. In a brief history lesson, he referred the members to the fact that the Constitution Act, 1840, protects Newfoundland's emerging industry from a potential flood of dairy products from other provinces.

In response, the group members reluctantly endorsed the proposal that "affirm and strengthen the federal relationship between the provinces and the federal government as a valuable part of the Canadian model." That critical breakthrough delighted Queen's University's Gosselin. "It is just what is necessary for us to continue as a nation. As the huge decisions evolve, some of the millionaires, provinces in Quebec right now can be satisfied—and at the same time when provinces come in British Columbia, they can be satisfied."

The group's resolutions represented a clear-minded approach to problems that have haunted Canada the generations. Like most Canadians, the participants were initially intimidated by the technical terminology and wrong positions that surrounded most constitutional discussions. But their statement indicates that all Canadians can participate effectively in the debate on the nation's fundamental values—and accommodate one another's differences. Notes Peterson: "The country will only be saved if there are enough spontaneous acts of generosity and kindness." With their groundbreaking agreement, the 12 forum members may have achieved a victory for all Canadians—and perhaps for Canada.

MARY JANE GAN and NANCY WOOD

Thomas Gosselin, the director of the school of policy studies at Queen's University, said that he was "very impressed." He, too, faults the members of Ottawa's council to embrace economic policy as the Constitution. In particular, Gosselin applauded the growth call for a free trade treaty that could give high-income exposure to international markets "which would allow rights." By contrast, University of Alberta economics professor Kenneth Narine noted that the provinces have frequently resisted to drop trade barriers—but not after he proposed. Said Narine: "I do want leading provinces on the provinces. I do not really have much faith in provincial politicians." For his part, Constitutional Affairs Minister Joe Clark told Maclean's that Ottawa is seeking new powers because the present system has failed. Declared Clark: "You can only defend the status quo if it is working. The evidence is pretty strong that it is not."

On a related subject, the 12 participants rejected the federal proposal to give a specific mandate to the Bank of Canada to fight inflation. But they did agree that the bank needed greater "regional input."

SIMPLIFICATION

The group members were adamant that the federal proposals should be reduced and simplified. They quickly rejected Ottawa's suggestion to add property rights to the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, on the grounds that it could create too many legal complications. They also criticized the proposal for a Council of the Federation that would formalize the practice of federal-provincial meetings—and give legal force to their agreements. Adams spoke for many participants when she

A Journey To Discovery

Emotions run high at the forum's reunion, but once again an accord is reached

Like guests at any reunion, their warm greetings, raised voices over whether they could accept the message of a previous feast and place. Six months earlier, they had been strangers to one another. 18 Canadians of disparate backgrounds and perspective who struck agreement on a common vision for Canada's future after an emotional weekend of argument and empathy. This time, arriving at Le Chateau Montebello's sprawling center lodge along the Quebec shores of the Ottawa River on a chilly Friday afternoon in December, they clutched photos of home and family, eager to catch these ancient friendships. Richmond, B.C., Crown prosecutor Richard Miller carried a copy of Stephen Leacock's *Liverty Lapsus* as a gift for Charles Dupont, a Montreal lawyer who had claudoned in June to never having heard of one of English Canada's most revered voices. It was a group of Canadians, noted Gutman, Qu's Robert Laidlaw, who carried a newly acquired Optima's Club pin on his lapel, "who see positive things and who see hope for this country."

But a gathering designed to discuss Canada's constitutional deadlock was sure to test that bond. "Are you ready for the battle?" a scuffed Miller was asked on the first day by a reporter from Maclean's Theatre Cable TV Ottawa, which was making an hour-long documentary of the weekend's discussions to be shown on CBC Newsworld at 7 p.m. EDT on Sunday, Jan. 12. Indeed, despite their exposure to one another's positions last June, some of the 12 participants acknowledged that their attitudes had been cooled during the interim months. "I resisted to come," said Karen Adcock, a 39-year-old lobbyist designer from Toronto. "I was sick of hearing about the Constitution." And Marie LeBlanc, 43, who would mark her daughter Anne's 21st birthday by attending, said that she now carried "an anger I did not have the first time." Adcock LeBlanc: "I came deter-

mined not to say anything." Instead, she pledged not to get too overworked. Her views met with mixed success.

A measure of the ease with which the group's differences could be exposed would emerge in Sunday morning. Negotiator Roger Fisher, leading a three-man team from the Harvard University-affiliated Conflict Management Group, suggested the 12 write an open letter to other Canadians appealing for the holding of a more inclusive Canada. When Miller proposed addressing the letter "Dear Fellow Canadians," Dupont, a Quebec sovereigntist, protested, arguing that "a lot of Québécois don't exactly identify themselves as fellow Canadians." As a result, Dupont cautioned, they would not read the document. "That's their problem, not ours," Miller calmly responded. Other alternatives were suggested. Senator Gerald Benardine, sitting in on the discussions, offered "Fellow Citizens" or "Concerned Parties," and several members of the group laughingly suggested "To Whom It May Concern." But the debate angered Montreal businessman Cyril Alkyne. "This is getting totally out of hand," he said. "Quebecers are still Canadians until a vote is taken." Soberly, Fisher agreed. "If this can't be managed, then Canada is really in the soup," he said.

The group of 12 Canadians did reach consensus. But it was a brittle process that deteriorated to collapse at several points. Dupont appeared to know just how tough the road ahead would be when he arrived on Friday afternoon. Before the first session began, he watched a few free minutes to wait in the hotel pool. "The way Roger works, I don't expect to have a lot of time to relax," he said in a Maclean's reporter before duck-diving under water and swimming away. As hour later, sweating and red-eyed from a reaction to chlorine, he was slipping into his chair in the main discussion room. Glancing to his southeast on the left, New Brunswick store owner Sheld Simpson, he suddenly chaf-

ed: "Try to be nice this time." With that, Fisher convened the formal meeting, and the weekend began.

OPENING SESSION, FRIDAY, 5:30 P.M.

PHILIP: Last time, we looked at the question of what is wrong with Canada, and you for-



The opening session at Montebello's gathering designed to discuss Canada's constitutional deadlock took the bonds that formed at a spring session in southern Ontario

lated some ideas and suggestions for all Canadians. This weekend, we are looking more closely at the constitutional problem. We are trying to formulate good ideas for making [Ottawa's] proposals better than they are. What advice might we formulate to improve these proposals, to expand them, to eliminate some, to simplify them, and have the government pay attention to what you think should get attention?

Fisher: I introduced the politicians who would act as the first leg of the discussion. Winnipeg Tory MP Dorothy Dobbie, co-leader of Parkman's unity committee, Montreal Liberal MP Paul Martin and former Ontario premier David Peterson, who wryly noted that he is "so long as a grubby politician, put a stake in the ground" to get elected. Fisher then asked all the participants to tell the group how their thinking

has evolved since the last meeting. As they spoke, Fisher's colleague Robert Bourque summarized their findings in flip charts located at the front of the hall.

Several participants expressed dismay that the national unity debate has taken on a belligerent tone, with Allaire expressing astonishment that Canadians now talk openly of the possibility of armed conflict over Quebec separation. Lalonde argued that the ongoing separatist tensions have left Canada like "an aircraft crashing on a jagged drop," that all the participants agreed that the country's pressing economic troubles have exhausted patience with the unity debate.

JOHN PRALL: Look at our economic status and the taxes we are paying, and then see the costs that are wired up in running this grossed-up country. There should be a limit. We have had about now it is time for somebody to sit down and draw this thing up.

KAREN COLLINGS: Since we were together last June, many people have spoken to me. And they are just as concerned about the state of the economy as they are about the Constitution. They are becoming very frustrated at the length of time this constitutional problem is taking.

ADAME: You are hearing about blue-chip companies cutting back 20 per cent and that's very scary. People are worried about whether they will have a job tomorrow. And to them, the Constitution is lonely and there are some wonderful proposals in there. But if I don't have enough money to put food on the table, I don't really care about the Constitution.

MILLER: I am concerned about this seeming desire to constitutionalize solutions to perennial problems. All that does is give power from the elected politicians to judges. Give everybody the right to health care or a decent home in the Constitution and you are creating unsolvable problems for decades.

• Concern for the Atlantic provinces' economy in a Canada without Quebec led Simpson to raise an issue that would become central to the final settlement. She argued that perhaps it is not necessary—or possible—to shift powers from Ottawa to all 10 provinces to the degree demanded by Quebec. And she suggested that perhaps the fairer basis would be to recognize that not every province should be treated the same way on every matter.

SIMPSON: The whole decentralization thing is starting to worry us down here. I think Quebec might need to get down a week while the rest of us have to



PHOTOGRAPH BY WES MCCALLUM



stay close as we have been. I don't think we can decentralize as much as we might need to in order to accommodate Quebec.

• Two forum members spoke candidly and forcefully for their particular constituencies. Carol Gosselin, a Third-voice from the Yukon, said the group that Ottawa's proposals on native self-government were "troublesome and offensive." She criticized the proposals for allowing as long as 10 years to define self-government and complained that there was no recognition of aboriginal nations as "distinct societies."

Dupuis, too, talked to his colleagues about dissatisfaction. He argued that Ottawa's proposed definition of "distinct society" is too narrow. "The government is trying to simplify this idea of a distinct society to three specific points: language, culture and civil laws," he said. "That is an error because to be distinct a society is different on all kinds of matters. To try to limit this distinctness is the best way to break it."

The politicians then joined the discussion, reviewing what they had understood from the opening statements.

BORRIS: I was hearing that whenever we talk about special status—whether for aboriginal people or for Quebec—there is a willingness to reach out and embrace that acceptance. But there is also some inhibition in the feeling that other people might somehow lose some-

Miller (left), Gosselin, Dupuis, Fisher (opposite left), Miller politicians are in to give advice on tough issues

thing in the recognition of the other person's specialness.

We are so rich it is almost scary. Why can't we share it with each other in an open way, without feeling so intimidated that somebody else is going to get something we don't have?

PETERSON: I sympathize with the point, but most Canadians have no desire whatsoever to talk about this issue. In spite of what Dorothy says, nobody feels sick and everybody feels poor. There is enormous insecurity, and at the same time people with the [constitutional] issue would go on.

Now the grim reality is that it is not going to go away. It is heading to a deadline—perhaps next fall, perhaps in the spring—that will affect how our kids grow up. You have to solve the constitutional problem, whether you like it or not.

• "Are we dealing with too large a package?" MP Martin had asked the group about Ottawa's 28-point program for constitutional reform. Fisher's response was to break the proposals into six general categories: distinct society, native self-government, the Canada clause, Senate reform, power sharing between Ottawa and the provinces, and the proposed economic union. Those topics would form the agenda for the rest of the weekend. Fisher asked the group how Ottawa's suggested roadmap in each of the six areas failed to meet their expectations. He began with the distinct society clause. How, he asked Dupuis, have Que-

bec's interests not been met by the proposed distinct society clause?

FISHER: What is the clause supposed to do for you?

DUPUIS: One thing surprises me about Canada. Canadians feel distinct from Americans because they have Quebec. And Canadians really love Quebec. They wish us, we love you very much. But they want to love in the way they wish to, not the way we wish to be loved.

When you put a definition on something, you constrain its effect. This is exactly the opposite of what we wish to have, because we are so different as a society, many matters, not only on language and culture. Some say we even make love differently.

COLIN FENN: So would you be happy with a statement that says you're distinct, period?

DUPUIS: Not only that we are different, but that we can protect it. Not a power word.

LALANDE: We can't get everything in black and white. There has to be an attitude involved. Laws will not change people. I think we are trying to get words into something for which words are available. It is something emotional. Can you put emotions on paper?

DUPUIS: One thing is for sure, if you don't reach into a legal text, it is of no use.

• Gosselin then compared the problem of defining Quebec's distinct society to the difficulty in finding legal language for native self-government.

GERDES: This issue of definition has also been heard against us. We are asked: "Tell us



what you want. Write your idea, write your Message of the way you understand aboriginal self-government. So we have a big problem because we can't define precisely and exactly what self-government means.

PINK: You have to come back to reality. Nobody is going to give you a blank cheque.

QUINCY: When your so-called Canada was created, nobody said to Canadians: "Sell us exactly, precisely, what Canada is going to be or what you can't have a Canada." And yet now we are expected to come up with an exact definition of self-government.

PINK: But you have to start somewhere. You have to get something on paper.

QUINCY: We do it now what formula is going to work right now because we have never been given the chance to have aboriginal self-government.

Leland Davis, Paul Collins and Simpson as a session breakout, discussing concerns about getting involved by Senate reform.



VIOLE GERRARD-GROUPEL: It's not only a word that lets people think that in more than one, then the language is going to be more complex.

COLLINS: Canadians think Quebec is hostile because they don't understand what the word distinct means. If Quebecers are not

"They both want to know that the values they hold are being respected, and yet they don't want them held in a shopping list, carefully written out and locked in," he said.

But agreement to the distinct society clause was also strong outside Quebec, argued Miller. And it would remain so as long as the perception existed that special recognition would be drawn added powers to Quebecers.

MILLER: No right-thinking Canadian is going to quarrel over whether Quebec wants to have certain rights within its geographic boundaries that other people don't have—nothing it is not at our expense. But that is not understood.

QUINCY: Canadians think Quebec is hostile because they don't understand what the word distinct means. If Quebecers are not

getting more power, explain the word distinct so it does not have the stigma of power attached to it. If it was explained simply to Canadians that distinct meant different, not better, then Canadians would be far more accepting. But it cannot be explained in paragraph after paragraph of legal jargon.

ADAMS: Nobody has asked it simply. It has to be non-threatening.

Miller: Ending the session for dinner, Fisher turned the discussion to the other constitutional proposals. The politicians made the French members aware of just how difficult some of the choices facing the country will be. Referring to the group's joint statement calling for politicians to be more responsive to the wishes of their constituents, Dobson asked them who would be left to speak for the national interest.

Fisher: I don't know the Quebecers that their provincial government's aggressive intervention in Quebec's economy "is allowed because it is a province of Canada, and would not be allowed if it were an independent country." Fisher closed the opening session by urging the group to focus its efforts on those areas where they could make strong recommendations to the government, rather than trying to solve all of Canada's problems. Then, he warned them that there are no quick-fix solutions. And Fisher: "People say, 'We are so fed up with this God-damned question, let's solve it all—fast.'" That said a noticeably solemn



Fisher, "you want the Constitution thought they were going to do. And I don't want my mapped-out thinking about a quick-fix solution or that."

SATURDAY MORNING SESSION, 9:25 A.M.

Miller: "I've got a lot of advice for the Prime Minister," said Peterson to general audience when Fisher kicked off the morning by proposing that the group members send a letter to Brian Mulroney with their suggestions. Fisher and the Harvard team wanted the participants to examine their critical study of Ottawa's proposals, with the intention of making some general recommendations to the government. As Fisher put it, "OK, Mr. Mulroney. We've met, we've looked at your proposals, and here are a few things we would like to say to you: 'Speed more time on tax,' or 'Work on that.'"

Fisher then adjusted the general session and suggested the participants to smaller groups in that they could make suggestions on how to improve the proposals in a small breakout room of the main room.

Miller: With an epiphany of peace at Four Asks. We're a bunch of basically politically naive Ottawa politicians who are incredibly blind and well-ordered. Ontario is a whole level as opposed to the happy districts that populate British Columbia. But I don't see why I'm being asked the question.

Quinlan: In that, concerned participants as take off a song on Saturday afternoon. We're all disappointed.

Miller: Adams ended out at one point. "Do you think all of this is going to happen by just?" The session concerned then that Ottawa should drop economic union from its constitutional package. In its place, Miller recommended that they call for the establishment of a ministerial tribunal that would monitor trade disputes. And Miller: "We can't put the entire burden on the federal government."

But the most heated moments of the morning took place during a discussion in another breakout room, where the participants confronted the urgent seriousness about the distinct society clause. To demonstrate why they refused to put a narrow definition on Quebec's distinctiveness, LeBlanc and Dupuis challenged Miller to provide a concise explanation of what makes British Columbians different from Ontarians.

Miller: With an epiphany of peace at Four Asks. We're a bunch of basically politically naive Ottawa politicians who are incredibly blind and well-ordered. Ontario is a whole level as opposed to the happy districts that populate British Columbia. But I don't see why I'm being asked the question.

ethnics and beliefs that are different. Recognize what we are.

Miller: You want protection for your language and your culture and that's being offered by the current proposals and it should be. Any further recognition of distinctiveness is probably unnecessary. Texas don't need to send constitutional protection for their distinctiveness from New Mexico.

DUPUIS: But we need protection for matters that might occur in 50 years, that we can't see.

Miller: Worry about that at 50 years.

DUPUIS: Not you, but another party might then say: "You don't have that. You're distinct for those reasons and that's not one of them."

Miller: By then, right participants had crowded into the rapidly warming boardrooms. Dupuis removed his jacket.

DUPUIS: We are the ones who feel rejected. And today we are being asked to be realistic and compromise. I don't have to compromise, you have to. That's what the common Quebecer thinks.

PINK: But the common Canadian thinks the contrary. We don't owe you anything. If you want to be a partner, let's sit down and negotiate. But no one is going to beg or make a deal that is going to give special status.

Miller: But before the group broke for lunch, Miller introduced Pink for his last-line approach.

MILLER: Distract doesn't cost us. It does not detract from my ability to live in a Canadian the way I want to because Charles lives differently.

SATURDAY AFTERNOON SESSION, 2:10 P.M.

It was an important Fisher who opened the participants' reform from levels, that the other associations began with other dry specialists among the politicians to have the constitutional debate would stand over the next year. The projects of a national referendum were discussed, and Peterson reminded the group that, without the 1992 referendum, Quebec could vote to leave Confederation. Then, he said with a very smile, "the majority's only option is, if they don't like it, to send in the army and they can shoot across the Ottawa River at each other with petrol bombs."

At 2:45 p.m., Gidley stood up to share for a speaking engagement in Winnipeg the next day. She warned the group that their work was just beginning, hard choices still had to be made. Indeed, some of the participants appeared stressed and overwhelmed by the complexity of the issues. Gidley encouraged the group to send her a copy of the letter they would write to Mulroney. And a confident Fisher responded by predicting, "You'll have your own letter soon enough." But within the hour, his house would sound hollow.

Fisher and Roghaye circulated draft documents containing material called from the emergency sessions. Martin was immediately critical of the group's suggestion that the proposal for Senate reform be shelved.

MARTIN: Was it the view that we could get away with not dealing with Senate reform? I would have thought that there are some issues that will absolutely have to be dealt with. And Senate reform is so important to the West that you will have to deal with it in the package.

SMITH: There was a concern that everybody would get bogged down in the process of debating what the representatives was going to be said as.

Indeed, Fisher himself had been busy of tackling the complexities of Senate reform. "I don't want another 12 sheets of paper circulating," he told Roghaye during a later strategy session. But the politicians would not let them off the hook.

PETERSON: Fred is right. This is the West's power for solving the distinct society's question, and it cannot be ignored. So the question is,

do you want to say, 'We are all Canadians and we are prepared to stick our necks out, and the West will see if we can come up with something'?

Martin led to leave Montebello, angling the group as his way out to "send a signal to Canadians that we are, in fact, going to have to resolve the really contentious issues." The group agreed to try to have their brand prices.



Peterson: a critical reform point is reached on Saturday when he recommends that the group "seriously" consider recognition of Quebec's distinctness

plans of generosity into their constitutional bargain. The effort would be limited to three major constitutional areas: Senate reform, direct association and native self-government. But the experience would lead to serious confrontations that would bring the Senate to the verge of failure.

SATURDAY AFTERNOON SESSION, 4:30 P.M.

The first head-on collision took place almost immediately. Emmerich's draft definition of self-government, the group fiercely quipped. Gidley on its implications for non-aboriginals.

ADAMS: Do you remember problems setting up self-government?

GIDLEY: Yes. There was a lot of difficulty with family law issues in setting up a justice system in the United States, for instance. But we must not be allowed to be allowed to view those things out on our own.

MILLER: I am concerned about criminal law. I don't think it is a solution to think that groups that aren't geographically definable can opt in or out of particular parts of a criminal code.

GIDLEY: Jurisdictions have to be negotiated. I can't tell you, there's the working, here's exactly what will happen in downtown Vancouver.

MILLER: But the definition of self-government has to be something more than your ends. It has to encompass our ends as well. And it has to give us some understanding of what we are agreeing to. You are saying to me: "You must agree to sell us your car. And once you have agreed to do that, then we will discuss price and warranties."

GIDLEY: No. We are saying: "Acknowledgment that we have a right to have a car as well."

MILLER: Well, not my car.

GIDLEY: But it is not your car. That's the whole bloody thing: you think it is your car and it is not your car.

Then, Gidley warned the group that the rights of aboriginals and non-aboriginals were sure to clash.

GIDLEY: We are not going to be one little Indian agreement and just give up everything and be content with the unexamined we have been given. We have got to stop that. So Gidley didn't assume that we will accept any of the rights of others. We will. Part of that is not ours.

FISH: Does self-government also imply self-defense?

GIDLEY: Oh, listen you to Canada! Canada has made no money on our resources. We have not had a chance to have resource-revenue sharing. So don't give us this stuff all this time how you Canadians have made money from the sweat of your brow. You haven't. You made it from the shorthanded people in this country. And that attitude makes me sick.

But there was consensus that the principle of native self-government needed to be affirmed. And no objections were raised to the text's commitment to refer future conflicts to a judicial body.

The group then turned to study the distinct society clause. But the debate dissolved into a local question among the lawyers in the room: Miller, Gidley, Fisher and Peterson. The across conversation left several participants



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edgy and unhappy. "Rick is interpreting the clause as a lawyer, and you are interpreting it as a non-lawyer," Fisher told Collaps at one point. But LeFevre, too, landed at a sobering word that she dubbed as "Chaos to me."

Canada Schooler pleaded for the group to stop treating the sister society clause as a concession to Quebec. "We are making it sound like a concession and it isn't," she said. "It is an understanding and appreciation of what Quebec is and has to offer the rest of us." But the mood was sour, and Fisher finally cut Fisher off to ask for a break.

As some of the group stretched necks and stopped tea, Riggallus sought out Gordon-Schulder and Collaps at the back of the seminar. "We're all exhausted and it has fallen apart," Collaps told her. As others filtered back into the room, they echoed her view that the process had devolved. Said Simpson: "Just like the country, it is going down the tubes." The same had come, said Collaps, "to stop being so polite and start being honest."

The following moments were riveting. Back as a full session and spurred on by Riggallus, the participants stopped bugging over legal language and tried, instead, to construct some of the emotion that best worked so successfully in June.

ADAMS: You tend to go off into legal terminology and we all go. "Boys mischief, you're lost to." The original idea was to write a letter to the Prime Minister as a result, some language **LABRAC:** If I may say so, I never agreed to

write a letter to the Prime Minister.

CEBEK-SCHOLLER: And there have been a couple of later when attempts were made about Quebec staying in Canada, and Charles and Marie were shaking their heads in quite vigorously. We are not picking that up and addressing it.

I'm concerned about what your feeling is, Marie and Charles. (Pausing to draw a deep breath and becoming fearful.) Because I want Canada whole. (A loud) I don't want it to split. Part of this is emotional, and we are not trying attention to that. And we must, because this is not a rational process.

RIGGALLUS: When I hear that, it reads up and down. Because if this group is emotionally motivated by a discussion that, contrary around constitutional language, my loss is that the rest of Canada will do the same way. And if a unity process is to succeed, it will have to satisfy people on a gut level.

SIMPSON: One of the problems with this mood is that the word dissent could such as emotional reaction that even by clarifying it, people still say "I accept the clarification, but don't use that word." Any (laugh) I got in the

Forum members relax in the hotel lobby. Riggallus (below, left) explains the group's short but eventful outline of the challenges in Senate reform.



last couple of weeks to bring up here was, "Tell them to get rid of that word."

FINN: But you can't change history. The word is there. **SIMPSON:** Well, if it means the end of the country, why can't we change a word?

MILLER: Because the changing of the word would probably mean the end of the country.

SIMPSON: OK, what about exploring the word in a non-threatening way?

CEBEK-SCHOLLER: I want to know what we have to put in the table to keep us together.

FINN: (Turning to Dupuis and Lallum.) You have to offer some suggestions as to what is acceptable. But you don't seem comfortable in telling us what your needs are.

LABRAC: You say put it in black and white. (Gathering at Finn.) Tell me in those points why you love your wife. Or should it be seven points? (She pauses.) I'm at a loss for words.

RIGGALLUS: Are there others that would do it? Are there symbols that would do it? **LABRAC:** I wonder if we could recapture the escape we had in June. We are going at it in a

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Cartagena, way, one, two, three; a, b, c. Maybe we could go in a more creative way.

At that point, Peterson, who had been scribbling on a notepad, offered a suggestion.

PETERSON: Maybe our reaction has been wrong. We have been responding to Quebec, the "deserter," like we do with the aboriginal people, saying, "Jesus, what do you want? And begrudgingly giving it up as opposed to taking the view, "My God, we're lucky to be in a country with French people, with aboriginal people! Rather than doing it begrudgingly, do it warmly, and respond to it in a very important point. This isn't merely an interethnic exercise, it is an emotional exercise.

Now what if this group would all sign a something like "We warmly endorse the recognition of Quebec as a distinct society and recognize that it is in the tradition of flexible constitutional arrangements that have characterized the country for 124 years?"

In a lobby meeting, Peterson told the group about special constitutional arrangements in the past for other provinces: the guarantee of a railroad for British Columbia and protection for

Adams (left), Lalonde: "Quebecans will have to make an effort. If you don't, we will leave the country."

the magazine industry in Newfoundland. "This is in that tradition," he said of the distinct society clause. "Thus, if you want to cut it off a bit, you can always say: 'This is in the spirit of the rights of anybody outside Quebec.' Even guys from British Columbia could agree with that," he said, chiding Miller.

Of the remarkable calmness that followed, Roglaume later recalled that "I looked at my watch and only 38 minutes had passed" since the group resumed after his talk with some disgruntled anarchists. But the farmers had been chastened. "But what he said on the board," said a suddenly reserved Lalonde of Peterson's words. "I'll sign this."

Fisher would later air down with Miller, Fries and Dupuis as, he put it, "one with the final package." But the early tide of disagreement over distinct society and national self-government had been turned back. By the afternoon's end, Senator Beaudoin had joined the session. He delivered a friendly lesson in Canadian constitutional history to a now more relaxed and spirited group. The real lesson, said Peterson shortly before the day ended, was that "the country will only be saved if there are enough spontaneous acts of generosity and kindness." He concluded: "Politicians can't lead it every-

body is better." A relaxed Lalonde threw her arms around him in the session's end. "We need you," she said.

SUNDAY MORNING SESSION, 9:45 A.M.

The day began with a speaker on a farm outfit and a willing but uneven rendition of *Myra Burtley* for College, who had raised 46. Roglaume spotted the same blue-flowered tie he had worn when the group reached agreement against the odds last June. "It's my 'Silver Canada' tie," he said. Lalonde made a low entry, whispering to a reporter: "I'm here, everybody, take a Valium." But there was little need for sedatives or charms. The 12 participants were in the mood to strike a deal.

The group briefly welcomed NOR MP Lorenz Fyfe, who gave them a short but cogent outline of the challenges in reforming the Senate. "There's a lot of alienation in the West that we don't have the say we should have," he explained. "We're not saying we should radically decentralize, but instead give the provinces more say in the centre through Senate reform."

The group agreed to produce three separate documents. One would offer specific recommendations to the parliamentary party committee on the three major constitutional issues: a separate letter to the Prime Minister would address how to lead the country over the coming months. And they discussed the possibility of an open letter to Canadians appealing for them to become informed and involved in the public debate.

Again, they divided into smaller groups. In one afternoon, Gellings drafted what she termed the "love letter to Canadians." But most participants crowded around Beaudoin and Fyfe in the main room as they answered questions on how to reform the Senate. "I had better protect my own vested interests," the senator joked as he set down that he also predicted that Senate reform would cause a "terrible light" in the country.

PHILLIPS took issue with appointing more senators to a body which already does not work.

Lalonde thought it enough. Next election, slash 50 senators. "I can't afford it anymore."
PURVIS: The cost is a drop in the bucket. It is not a question of more or less; it is a question of effectiveness.

Lalonde raised another suggestion from Fyfe, pushing for a Senate without partisanship. "We need a Senate of wise men," she said emphatically. Responded a smiling Beaudoin: "Are we an heaven, for God's sake?" The cooperative mood appeared undeniable.

SUNDAY AFTERNOON SESSION, 3:10 P.M.

By late afternoon, following lunch and a

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bring slight rifts through the surrounding woods, the group had resolved the most contentious points. They agreed to an elected Senate with limited powers. The new chamber would ensure representation from Western Canada, and would give francophone minorities veto over laws affecting Quebec's language and culture.

There were some final hitches. A reference to "a national education system" was modified to account for the so-called elites of the provinces, who have constitutional control over education. And a mild dispute arose over the letter to Canadians. Adams rebelled at suggestions that references to Quebec and natives be placed in the opening paragraphs. "We are sick of hearing about it," said Adams about the First Nations, a comment that Gidycz later acknowledged made her extremely hurt and angry. Said Adams: "That is not what is driving us together at this moment. The circumstances is what we should be bringing forward at this moment."

But the exercise led to those documents that required only final touches for endorsement by all 12 participants. Before leaving, Bourke and Hyattson paid tribute to the group by extending them an invitation to appear before Parliament's early committee.

BEAUBOEN: The work you have done is very interesting, and you came before the committee. It is going to have some importance for our

Forebode of the end of these hard, successful days of negotiations: a model for Canadians

country. It is very serious work you have done. I am not to please you. It is a fact. **HYATTSON:** I've learned that there is more that unites us than divides us. There is a common ground. It is a matter of giving the idea that we can unite this country some momentum.

MONDAY MORNING SESSION, 9:20 A.M.

• Dupon had entertained at Sunday night's dinner by singing Willie Nelson in a strong King Country-style baritone. But during the next room—and taken through the night, re-creating the Montebello grounds in a residential layer of ice. Still, the participants were surprised as they first read the texts (pages 36 to 40). As they made alterations to the final version, the group reflected on the committee, and on the need for Canadians to become informed and involved about the challenges facing the country.

LALANDE: Canadians will have to make an effort. We have to indicate to the Canadian people. If you don't get involved, we are going to lose the country. Read history. Find out more about Canada and fellow Canadians. If we can do

this among ourselves, why can't we do it across the country?

SIMPSON: I think you are selling people short here. We have seen in the last few months more and more demand to be involved in the political process. And people realize that in order to do that, they have to educate themselves.

RICIARDI: You might say to people: "Yes, we might not have gotten it quite right, but I certainly think we set an example of how to go about it using your head and your hearts to deal with a tremendously complex issue."

• By then, there was little to do but sign the final texts. Miller had left late Sunday afternoon for an engagement in Vancouver. Rebe read a final copy of the final version and signed along with the rest. In his farewell to the group the day before, the prosecutor had looked around the room and said quietly: "You're all good friends now, as you were last time. This one built on the last. And I really think I've gained 12 wonderful friends." A chorus of voices interrupted him: "Only 11," they corrected. A laughing Riciardi then said: "He's learned to like himself better."

In a modest sense, at least, they had provided a model that might serve all Canadians well in the critical months ahead.

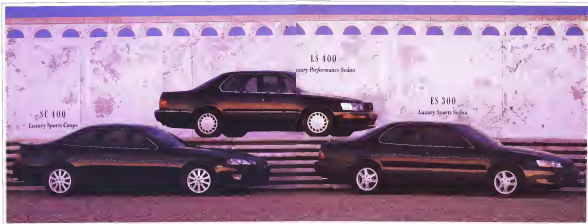
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A One-Country View

The forum drafted a plan for realigning the nation

The 12 members of the Maclean's national forum shared their discussions on the 28 proposals for amending the Constitution that the federal government presented to Parliament on Sept. 24. At the end of the weekend, the forum members directed their conclusions to specific individuals. On the following pages are their letters to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and to their fellow Canadians. They address their main recommendations to MP Dorothy Dobie and Senator Gerald Brundage, co-leaders of the parliamentary committee on constitutional reform, who took part in one of the forum's deliberations at Le Château Montebello.

We would like to thank each of you for spending time with us this past weekend, listening to us and answering our questions. You are familiar with us and what we have been doing. Here are our joint recommendations with respect to constitutional reform.

DISTINCT SOCIETY

We warmly endorse the government's proposal that the Constitution recognize Quebec as a distinct society. This recognition is in the tradition of feasible constitutional arrangements that have been part of Canada for 124 years. The distinctiveness of Quebec is a historical fact and a current reality that enriches the lives of all Canadians. It allows Quebecers to make their own decisions about the balance between individual and collective rights.

We believe that there has been widespread misunderstanding about the effect of recognizing Quebec as a distinct society. To reduce the risk of such misunderstanding, we propose that the new section be extended to include language along the following lines:

This section in no way affects the rights outside Quebec of any person.

To help satisfy Quebecers, we would propose that ss.13 (2) be altered to read:

For the purposes of subsection (1), "distinct society," in relation to Quebec, includes, but is not limited in any way to:

- (a) a French-speaking majority;
- (b) a unique culture;
- (c) a civil law tradition.

In addition to these proposed changes in the text, we believe it of utmost importance that the government make clear to the people that the distinct society clause simply recognizes that the people of Quebec may choose to weigh individual rights versus group rights somewhat differently from the people in other parts of Canada. The clause does not in any way imply that Quebec is either superior or inferior to any other province.

FIRST NATIONS

With respect to rights of aboriginal peoples, we strongly recommend that the Constitution include provisions along the following lines:

Without defining or limiting the inherent rights of aboriginal peoples, the Constitution guarantees First Nation peoples sufficient self-government:

- to preserve their distinct societies and values;
- to govern civil activities among themselves (such as internal family matters, inheritance, language, culture and education);
- to be involved in the criminal justice system as it relates to aboriginal people;
- to develop forms of self-government that vary widely according to values and geographical circumstances, as they themselves shall from time to time decide.

The rights of the First Nation peoples shall be exercised in ways that respect the rights of others.

Where such rights appear to conflict, they shall be worked out through negotiation, other dispute resolution mechanisms and, if need be, judicial decision.

SENATE REFORM

We endorse the reforms to make the Senate and the House of Commons more responsive to the people of Canada. Further, we would support an elected Senate that possessed the following attributes.

Powers

The Senate would have the ability to delay for six months, but not to block, most legislation.

We support the government's proposals that a majority of the francophone senators and a majority of the anglophone senators be required in order to veto legislation affecting language and culture.

Representation

In order to further our commitment to democratic principles, we believe that representation in the Senate should be equitable among regions. We endorse increasing the relative voice of western provinces without reducing the voice of any other region.

In recognition of the inherent rights of aboriginal people, there must be guaranteed representation of the First Nations in the Senate. Representation for aboriginal people should be linked to a formula that would allow change in the future.

In order to serve interests in efficiency, we would like to see a Senate that is smaller in size.

Free voting should be the rule in the Senate.

Election

Senators should be directly elected by constituency. Senatorial elections should be staggered so that only a portion of the Senate would be elected at any one time.

In order to reduce concurrent party dominance in both the House of Commons and the Senate, elections for the Senate should not be held at the same time as elections for the House of Commons.

Senators should have fixed terms; they will not leave office should the government fall. Terms for senators should be longer than terms for members of the House of Commons. Preferably, Senate terms would be six years.

Should a Senate seat become vacant, such as by illness or resignation, the government would call for an election to fill the vacancy within three months.

OTHER CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS

In addition to the sections on dealing with distinct society, aboriginal self-government and Senate reform, the government's proposals deal with a wide range of issues important to all Canadians. In order to deal effectively with these issues, we suggest that the proposals be significantly simplified and shortened. This would promote more clarity, reduce unnecessary controversy and put a sharper focus on the issues most important to the unity debate. Without being an exhaustive treatment, we offer the following suggestions:

Economic union

The well-being of Canada depends on a unified effort to build strong regional and national economies. We believe that those goals will best be achieved outside the Constitution. While we endorse the principle of the free flow of goods, services, people and capital, we are reluctant to grant the federal government more power and are inclined to leave the reduction of trade barriers to negotiations among the provinces and the federal government. However, we believe there is a strong need to add teeth to this statement of principle by establishing a mechanism to enforce free trade that does not leave enforcement solely to governments (such as a citizen's or corporation's right to bring claims before an impartial "commercial tribunal").

Federal-provincial power sharing

The issue of power sharing between the provinces and the federal government remains important to all Canadians. Above the specifics, however, we would seek to clarify and emphasize the general proposition that different and asymmetrical federal relationships between the provinces and the federal government are a valuable part of the Canadian model. We do not support the notion that all provinces must be treated exactly the same, because sameness is not synonymous with equality in the Canadian context. We also endorse the goal of re-examining federal-provincial relations in order to reduce the costs of government and duplication of functions.

Federal standards

Within the framework of guaranteed basic services, we endorse allowing provinces more flexibility in the delivery of services. We would endorse the setting of national standards to protect and improve the environment.

Reform of the Bank of Canada

We endorse including regional input to the Bank of Canada.

Simplification

In the interest of reducing complexity, we recommend that some proposals or parts of proposals be dropped, such as the part of proposal 1 that reaffirms rights and freedoms of Canadians, and proposal 38, which would establish a Council of the Federation.

We believe that the part of proposal 1 that would enshrine property rights in the Constitution should be eliminated.

We recommend that the harmonization of the federal and provincial budget processes (proposal 16) be delegated to a meeting of federal and provincial finance ministers. □

*Applies to part of the government's proposal 2 that would exclude a province in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms to recognize Quebec as a distinct society. The National Assembly's Charter would add the following clause to avoid limiting the definition of a distinct society:

A Message To Mulroney

Le Château Montebello, Québec
Dec. 9, 1950

The Right Hon. Brian Mulroney
The Parliament Buildings
Ottawa

Mr. Prince McLean

We the undersigned met at Le Château Montebello in Dec. 1998 and reached conclusions that we would like to share with you. Senator Gerald Boudreau and Sir Dorothy Dobble, co-chairs of the parliamentary committee on the new constitutional proposals, were each able to be with us for substantial parts of the weekend. Enclosed is a copy of our letter to them, conveying recommendations that we developed with respect to the new Constitution. They deal with the major issues. Although we 12 were selected by Montreal from all over Canada because we represented strongly held and differing points of view, we jointly endorse these recommendations. Our doing so served to remind us of the ability Canadians have as a people to come together and gather strength from their diversity.

We believe that national unity is far more than constitutional language. Beyond the suggestions we have made with respect to the new Constitution—and beyond whatever legal language is eventually prepared—there are three strong recommendations we would like to make to you.

One: Immediately deal with the Canadian economy and acknowledge today the extent of Canada's economic problems. Report the facts to the people and accept responsibility for doing something about it. Give economic issues a high priority and establish a plan of action with a feedback mechanism to report on progress. Don't wait for a new Constitution to lead Canadians toward a better economy. If you were to ask the people today whether you should spend more of your time re-defining constitutional language or working to fix the economy, we believe the country would be in a hurry to choose the latter. Work with business and labor leaders side by side. Give the economy a jump start. Economic policy needs to be dynamic and flexible. Economic union need not be locked into the Constitution.

Two. Whatever is done about a Canada clause in the Constitution, we believe that action outside the Constitution is needed to increase the commitment to Canada by its people. And more is needed than just trying to eliminate those things that have been seen to cause divisiveness. It is important to reinforce and create things of a positive nature to which we can look with pride and which we can use as providing an affirmative view of what it means to be Canadian.

To this end, we would ask you to promote an increased commitment to, and respect for, national institutions such as the CBC, the RCMP, the Canada Council and the National Film Board. We need a renewed commitment to responsible, yet efficient, national social programs such as health care and postsecondary education. Some federal spending power should be used to increase our pride in being Canadian.

Three. Enrich the Constitution to the people in human terms. We warmly endorse a constitutional recognition of Quebec as a distinct society and self-government for the First Nations. We have learned the extent to which this recognition is in the tradition of flexible constitutional arrangements that have been part of Canada for more than a century. We believe that the most important objective of the government must be to ensure that the distinct society clause simply recognizes that the people of Quebec may choose to weigh additional rights versus group rights somewhat differently from the people in other parts of Canada. The clause does not in any way imply that Quebec is either superior or inferior to any other province. The distinctiveness of Quebec and of the First Nations are historical facts and current realities that enrich the lives of all Canadians.

In diversity lies our history and our strength. We should not apologize for our differences or debate them, but listen to one another, understand one another and build Canada together. When you explain the Constitution, get beyond the legal technicalities to emphasize its essential greatness as the document on which the nation is founded. The better the people understand what it is all about, the better off Canada will be.

Sincerely yours,

Harmon Adams

Hansen College

Wm L B

Li Cecropia-Schoolen

By all

Charles Jones

2. 10. 1911

By all

W. H. L.

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An Address To The Nation

Le Château Montebello, Que.
Dec. 8, 1991

Dear Fellow Canadians,

We are 12 Canadians selected by Maclean's because of our differences over constitutional issues. We spent three days together in June, and again this past weekend, talking about Canada, our lives, our concerns, our fears and our hopes for the future. We lived together, laughed together and cried together. We have learned a lot about Canada not about ourselves. We learned about our differences—in language, in culture, in politics and in much else. But we learned even more about our similarities. We were moved by the extent of the values we share. Elsewhere in this magazine, you can read our suggestions on the Constitution. Here, we want to tell you of how proud we are of Canada, of the great country we are going to be.

In becoming more aware of our country and the current situation, we discovered the need to educate ourselves as to what it means to be Canadian. We came to appreciate our common Canadian history, including all the diverse aspects of our great nation. We feel that we are Canadians because of our shared beliefs and values. We cherish our basic life, our community and our cultures and have respect for one another's rights and differences. We have a commitment to our children to establish a strong society for all those who will live within it.

We recognize and rejoice in the cultural diversity that contributes to the richness of Canadian society. We want Canada to be a role model for the world on how a diverse society can live together in harmony and prosperity. We are committed to a process of co-operating and recognizing the inherent rights of all of us. We recognize Canada as a part of the growing international community and wish to embrace the peoples of Canada in such a world role.

We are distinct from other nations and are proud of our distinctiveness. Rather than focusing on differences and letting them divide us, we can appreciate these differences as valuable, worthwhile and essential to our Canada. Let us remember the similarities that make us all Canadians first. We sincerely hope that you share our feelings of value in being Canadian. To save this Canada, we encourage you to read what you can, talk to your friends and neighbors—those with whom you agree and those with whom you may think you disagree—and listen to our country. We all face a challenge. Each of us has an opportunity to do something constructive.

We hope that as you work with others towards a better Canada, you, too, will rediscover what it means to be Canadian.

Chers concitoyens,

Nous sommes 12 Canadiens sélectionnés par Maclean's en raison de nos différents points de vue en matière constitutionnelle. Nous avons passé trois jours ensemble en juin dernier et nous nous sommes réunis de nouveau cette fin de semaine pour parler du Canada, de nos vœux, de nos préoccupations, de nos craintes et de nos aspirations. Nous avons vécu ensemble, ri ensemble et pleuré ensemble. Nous avons beaucoup appris sur le Canada et sur nous-mêmes. Nous nous sommes familiarisés sur nos différences et ce qui concerne la langue, la culture, la politique et bien d'autres domaines. Mais nous avons surtout appris à reconnaître nos ressemblances, nous avons été touchés par l'ampleur des valeurs que nous partageons. Nous sommes enthousiasmés de l'avenir de notre pays et nous nous sommes engagés à faire de ce Canada, de grand pays que nous avons mérité et que nous continuerons d'être.

En apprenant à connaître notre pays et sa situation actuelle, nous avons réalisé la besoin d'éduquer et ce qui signifie que d'être Canadien. Nous nous sommes intéressés à découvrir notre histoire commune, y compris les diverses facettes de notre grand nation. Nous nous sentons Canadiens parce que nous partageons certaines croyances et certaines valeurs. Nous cherchons notre vie familiale, nos collectivités et nos cultures et nous respectons les droits et les différences de nos concitoyens. Nous sommes engagés envers nos enfants à bâtir une société solide pour tous ceux et celles qui y croient.

Nous reconnaissons que la diversité culturelle est l'une des richesses de la société canadienne et nous nous en réjouissons. Nous voulons que le Canada soit un modèle pour le monde d'une société vivante et harmonieuse dans le présent. Nous sommes engagés dans le processus de collaboration et de reconnaissance des droits fondamentaux de tous. Nous croyons que le Canada fait partie d'une communauté internationale en pleine expansion et nous voulons continuer à lui donner sa rôle de premier plan.

Le Canada est distinct des autres nations et nous en sommes fiers. Plutôt que de nous concentrer sur les différences qui nous séparent, nous pouvons reconnaître que ces différences ont une valeur et un mérite qui sont essentiels à notre nation du Canada. Souvenons-nous des ressemblances qui font de nous avant tout des Canadiens. Nous espérons sincèrement que vous partagez notre fierté d'être Canadien. Pour sauver le Canada, nous encourageons chacun d'entre vous à lire ce que vous pouvez, à parler à vos amis et à vos voisins—avec ceux que vous êtes d'accord et avec ceux que vous pensez peut-être en désaccord—et à nous faire mutuellement. Chacun de nous a un rôle à jouer. Nous avons une occasion de faire quelque chose de constructif.

Nous espérons en fin de compte à faire de notre pays un Canada meilleur, nous redécouvrirons nous aussi ce qui est notre fierté d'être Canadien.

Signatures:
 Jean Lapierre
 Karen Adams
 H. Ross Collins
 David Singer
 Carl Zorn
 G. Kelly
 V. Gendron
 Oliver Faint
 Chris Breen
 G. Kelly
 G. Kelly



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Fisher (left), Jackson and Macdonald using registration techniques developed over more than a decade at Harvard

wonder about about the "discussions" of views. Politically, New Brunswick's Sheila Scapion reminded the co-leader of the parliamentary committee on constitutional reform that Macdonald had done her and her fellow provincial premiers because of their differences.

These differences, in fact, mirror closely those that exist among Canadians at large. That was learned before the spring meeting, when Decima Research analysed its banks of polling data to identify the major patterns, or clusters, of political thought that, if combined, would provide a snapshot of the nation at large. Using a process known to statisticians as "cluster analysis," Decima president Allan Gregg and vice-president Catherine Murray identified six basic groups, ranging from Quebec separatists to committed federalists.

Next, their company conducted a series of telephone polls across the country to find individual Canadians whose views fitted most closely with the six identified clusters. From that list, Maclean's picked 11 forum members who reflected the range of views and provided gender and geographic balance. Maclean's editors rounded the forum out with a 12th member, a native Canadian, selected independently of the polling process because the native population of Canada is too widely dispersed across the country to be sampled accurately using standard polling techniques.

The Maclean's/construction forum of six men and six women first gathered to consider the country's future in June. The second gathering, in early December, confirmed the accuracy of Decima's original analysis: the forum participants shared many concerns with other Canadians surveyed for the eighth annual Maclean's/Decima poll of Canadian attitudes (page 40).

Still, a social crisis arena, the 12 people who took part in last month's forum discussed Canada's problems as they had observed them over the past six months. They offered strikingly different assessments. Nova Scotia's John Paul said that it was time to stop debating the Constitution and "let drive and drive the thing up." Toronto's Kevin McKee, by contrast, said that every people has two worried about getting hold on their values to care about the Constitution. Such differing perspectives led Manitoba's Mr Dorothy Dobbs, a guest at the forum, to

MACLEAN'S FORUM

Getting To An Accord

Specialists helped forum members to unite

They granted each other at the same time. Quebec's problem is not like old friends, with whom colleagues and inquiries that are another's recent activities. But the division among the 12 participants in the Maclean's/construction forum, who had met as a group in southern Ontario in June, soon resurfaced in discussions before in earnest at their Children Maclean's forum. When conflict resolution expert Roger Fisher, a law professor at Harvard University,

invited each of them to talk briefly about Canada's problems as they had observed them over the past six months, they offered strikingly different assessments. Nova Scotia's John Paul said that it was time to stop debating the Constitution and "let drive and drive the thing up." Toronto's Kevin McKee, by contrast, said that every people has two worried about getting hold on their values to care about the Constitution. Such differing perspectives led Manitoba's Mr Dorothy Dobbs, a guest at the forum, to

MACLEAN'S FORUM

role of politicians in reaching an acceptable constitutional compromise. Most strikingly, amid the country's prevailing divisions, they reached an agreement that 40 of 12 of them willingly signed.

That accomplishment flowed in part from the careful selection techniques that Fisher and his colleagues have spent more than a decade developing at Harvard. But the spirit of compromise that animated the first Maclean's discussions arose from a clear personal willingness. Said Fisher: "When you don't know somebody, you have a conditional attitude of them. But after more than 50 hours of talking with one another in June and December, Fisher

believe others. And each of what they agreed on differed sharply from the views of the majority of other Canadians surveyed. For one, forum members "unanimously endorsed" constitutional recognition of Quebec as a distinct society, but the majority of other Canadians polled opposed that step.

There were other areas as well in which the forum members, voices of their two intense discussion sessions, departed from the national poll results. They were more supportive of official bilingualism than other Canadians—and they expressed more confidence in elected politicians. They were also more convinced than other Canadians that the consti-

tutional process in order to clarify their underlying interests—then seeking a choice among as many solutions as possible to best meet those interests. "Wherever possible, the forum also encouraged participants in the forum to view issues through the eyes of those whom they disagreed with, and to identify a number and his colleagues have employed similar techniques at some of the world's political hot spots, recently including Yugoslavia and South Africa, as well as in seeking a new working relationship among affiliates of the CTV network.

For the Cambridge group, the second forum brought fresh complications to a familiar cast.

After the earlier encounter, noted Macdonald, "There was a real love-hate between people that made it easier." At the same time, he said, "With specific proposals on the table, we were down to earth and practical—practical politics." And the presence of Macdonald, of Mrs. Dobbs, Larne Nyström and Paul Martin, as well as Senator Gerald Borenson and former Ontario premier David Peterson, had the critical effect of "giving the degree of group cohesion," Macdonald added. The five current and former politicians, he noted, frequently raised in the participants' most significant responses, bringing them to focus recommendations with an eye to making them as realistic as possible for governments to adopt.

Despite the complexity of the issues that they heard, the forum members were able to reach conclusions that



Kelly: Decima Research identified the clusters of thought that provide a snapshot of Canada

may be attributed to other factors. Regardless, for one, that a key to the agreement was the belief that the forum members struck between specific constitutional recommendations and more general—and frequently emotional—observations about the future of the country led them down to consensus.

He called that the "best way to link the best ideas with the best constitutional proposals."

That seemed to strike a receptive chord with Dobbs. As she left Macdonald to return to her work with the parliamentary committee, she told the forum: "The consensus, this [document] reflects what Canada is going through."

That was partly a matter of design—and of Decima's careful definition of the forum membership. That it was also a testimony to the 12 men and women who reached out to one another with tolerance, understanding and goodwill—and found a shared understanding.

That the Canadians here were able to look beyond the stereotypes.

In the week following the Macdonald encounter, Decima representative Christopher Kelly contacted 11 of the 12 people (Fisher thought Indian Grand Deviser was unavailable). The forum members then completed the same questionnaire that Decima had earlier administered to 1,800 other Canadians for the Maclean's year-end survey. Although the results from only 11 responses cannot be regarded as scientifically accurate, in many key areas the balance of views among the forum members matches those of respondents to the wider poll. Like most other Canadians surveyed, the forum members said that they were satisfied with their own economic situation—and generally about the prosperity of the country as a whole.

But on constitutional issues, the Maclean's group's ability to reach agreement at all was enough to set them apart from most of their peers. That the federal government has launched to seek public reaction to its package of constitutional proposals is an effective way to take part in government—although they also felt that Ottawa needed to do more. But there was at least one disagreement: the forum members were more likely than their fellow citizens to prefer Quebec's departure from Confederation.

Despite the complexity of the issues that they heard, the forum members were able to reach conclusions that

may be attributed to other factors. Regardless, for one, that a key to the agreement was the belief that the forum members struck between specific constitutional recommendations and more general—and frequently emotional—observations about the future of the country led them down to consensus.

He called that the "best way to link the best ideas with the best constitutional proposals."

CHIEF WOOD

Voices From The Arena

Five professionals provide helpful political guidance

For members of a profession as widely maligned, the five politicians who guided the Marlebo's participants through the constitution's big questions surprisingly great results. Away from the partisan fray, political posturing gave way to first-class familiarity among the five visitors and Marlebo's 13 forum members, and co-operation replaced rivalry. Said participant Robert Lalonde, who admitted he was surprised by his experience: "We found out this weekend that these guys are really talented at it. It's not just a country work. People of the first in order."

David Peterson: The Deal Maker

After lunch on Saturday, the deal maker in the press and scolded cowboy boots told court long after most other doors at the Marlebo forum had descended. David Peterson, the former premier of Ontario, recalled both the pleasure and the pain of cutting political deals. By sticking an unprecedented pact with the provincial New Democratic Party in 1985, Peterson inspired a 43-year Conservative dynasty. By contrast, his leading role in the closed-door backroom that characterized the doomed North Lake round of constitutional negotiations contributed to his stunning loss from power in 1990, and closed his last active political door. On the subject of deal making, Peterson readily remarked: "There's always a chance you might throw yourself in front of a train."

For Peterson, politics is a person not easily dissuaded. He insists that he has no immediate intention of re-entering public life. But many federal Liberals privately regard him as one of the few appealingly natural-born personalities in a party that is largely bereft of such figures. And Peterson retains an impressive array of contacts—and a critical link to inside political intrigues—as his personal deal maker as partner in a well-established Toronto law firm and political science lecturer at York University. At Montebello, he surprised considerably that a constitutional package must include a significant redefining of the role of parliament as "the place of getting people to party." And at the first signed a statement, Peterson was still stage left when he reached for a pen to scribble down his suggestion for an acceptable compromise on the federal safety issue. By mid-morning, however, the participants came to an agreement.



Myerson: advising the forum to find recommendations to three main categories

Paul Martin: The Economic Pragmatist

He is a country politician from Quebec who made his personal fortune in the competitive world of international shipping. Perhaps that is why Liberalist Paul Martin Jr. anticipated with visible concern when a member of the Marlebo forum questioned the connection between Canada's economy and the Constitution. Martin argued that the two were inextricably linked. Indeed, the 50-year-old former minister stressed, Ontario's proposal to break interprovincial trade barriers was a critical step towards a renewed Canada. He further argued that an entrenched economic union would include the establishment of a common

law system to enforce free trade among the provinces. Said Martin: "Let's establish the principles and let things flow from there."

It was not the first time the Liberal party's environment critic found himself wondering about economic turf. Since his dramatic second-place finish in Liberal Leader Jean Chrétien in the June 1990 leadership campaign, the Montreal MP has blossomed into one of the Liberal party's most versatile stars. A former head of Canada Shipping Lines Inc., a Montreal-based conglomerate of ships, transport vehicles and real estate, Martin is a passionate proponent of sweeping economic reform. And he warned that solving constitutional problems

does not automatically lead to a unified country. Said Martin: "In previous eras, a country came together because of war. Our enemies are a declining economy, a deteriorating environment and a failing social system. People don't think about that."

Lorne Myerson: The Common Idealist

Scots origins in such as obscure constitutional quip that Montebello's participants were in fact to a new breed of the most that on Sunday morning, in a quiet and clear delivery, without a word. Lorne Myerson, an attorney, the most well and the foundation for what was to become one of the three main pillars of the group's final recommendations. During his 25 years in Parliament, the 45-year-old Saskatchewaner has developed a formidable expertise on constitutional issues—and a debt duty to identify potential problems. This challenge, a Senate reform, Myerson told the group, is to find the delicate balance between big and small. "The small provinces will more often be the losers," said Myerson in the same time. "If we had equality of all the provinces, how does that square with the fact that Ontario has 85 times the population of Prince Edward Island?"

A lawyer in a party of strong opinions, Myerson is often at political odds with his colleagues. Yet, against the 1981 rejection of the Constitution, Myerson, then a constitutional critic, broke party ranks along with three other Saskatchewaners, protesting what he called a central Canadian bias against the West. And he is a member of the Beaudin-Dobson parliamentary committee on constitutional reform.

Myerson's disagreements with his former leader, the late Prime Minister, are a small part of the most constitutional proposal. Said Myerson, with characteristic aplomb: "To tell me more than three concepts in one time is very difficult. But you do what is feasible and drop the other stuff."

Dorothy Dobson: The Rookie Under Siege

She is known in one of the most personable on Parliament Hill—a trait that has at different times led to her being called "Dorothy," a nod to her Winnipeg, both on a steady climb up the Tory ranks and to the edge of political disaster. Granted for a possible cabinet post



Beaudin: a constitution must be 'built on the rocks of the people'

since her election in 1988, the 46-year-old former publisher in better known nationally as the co-editor of Parliament's recently gutted national study committee. Dobson outlined opposition demands for her resignation, declaring: "It's my nature to bring on."

But at the Montebello gathering, Dobson also displayed an effective sense of discretion and flexibility, both qualities that the 13 forum members simply appreciated. In a discussion about technical constitutional amendments, Dobson declared that Canadians lack a "sense of poetry about themselves." As she encouraged the Montebello participants to deal frankly with tough issues, Dobson, in a world parallel to her own political experience, told the group: "If you can do it and stop while and come out of it, I think you will have accomplished something quite extraordinary."

Dobson's suggestions that her record of personal achievements proves that she can adapt to different environments. In the last decade, the high-school dropout and former factory worker built a prosperous health business in trade magazines that, at her stance,

has reentered financial life. As president of the Winnipeg Chamber of Commerce in 1987, she also had influence in provincial economic circles. But the nightingale Mr. Dobson, quoted as saying that a reduced federal deficit was more important than "the great social experiment," revealed another side at Montebello. "We are so rich it is almost sad," she remarked. "Why can't we live without feeling so indebted?"

Girard Beaudin: Constitutional Behavior

Among senior Ottawa bureaucrats, Senator Girard Beaudin is often described as one of a new breed—a "young constitutionalist." At 43, the former Undersecretary of Ottawa law professor, has spent most of his lifetime revelling in the arcane rather-world of Canada's constitutional history. Until his appointment to the Senate in September, 1988, he passed much of that passion to lecture halls and to the pages of more than 300 articles he wrote on constitutional law. During the campaign, the 40-year-old Beaudin, a former law professor, has become an unlikely figure in the political fray. He is a Quebecer (hebrew who was a first minister) led war-

rior to his appointment to the parliamentary committee to study new ways to amend the Constitution. Then, in November, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney called on him again, this time to replace John Diefenbaker and lead the constitutional committee. Beaudin's role in the constitutional committee to study new ways to amend the Constitution. Then, in November, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney called on him again, this time to replace John Diefenbaker and lead the constitutional committee. Beaudin's role in the constitutional committee to study new ways to amend the Constitution. Then, in November, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney called on him again, this time to replace John Diefenbaker and lead the constitutional committee.

Beaudin's role in the constitutional committee to study new ways to amend the Constitution. Then, in November, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney called on him again, this time to replace John Diefenbaker and lead the constitutional committee.

R. KANE PULLISON

In A Mood For Compromise

Majorities are ready for a unity deal

Canada hailed no shortage of national crises, over conscription during both world wars, over political terrorism in 1970, and over Quebec's "sovereignty movement" in 1980. But never have the country's political leaders seemed more in danger of dividing the country to its own discomfiment than at the start of 1992. At the same time, the warring recession that has gripped Canada for most of the past 21 months has eased only in the stifled perception of economists, among most people, it appears to drag on. Yet, while the eighth annual Maclean's/Decima poll reveals that pessimism among Canadians is at a higher level than any previous year, the survey also finds encouraging new support for a resolution of the country's deepest differences.

The stark border of these differences have focused on Quebec's place in Canada. The "distinct society" designation remains at the heart of the constitutional impasse; many surveys have shown that most Canadians outside Quebec oppose that province's desire to be federally recognized as a province unlike the rest. But this year's Maclean's poll, focusing closely on the constitutional impasse, asked both the members for and against a distinct society clause. In doing so, it found more than enough support for compromise on both sides to suggest that a constitutional settlement that resolved other disputes between Quebec and the rest of the country could win approval from a majority of Canadian citizens—including a

Poll results and how the poll was done, page 62

majority of Quebecers—regardless of whether it contained the mutually charged phrase.

As well, the 1,097 Canadians surveyed between Nov. 19 and 24 also made it clear that they are fed up with the constitutional obsession of their leaders. By a national margin of more than three to one, respondents said that the continuing recession was a more pressing problem than national unity. Although a majority of those polled said that they were "outdated or very outdated" with their personal economic situation, the rate of personal dissatisfaction was higher than at any time in the eight-year history of the Maclean's/Decima poll.

Underlining the low priority that most Canadians place on the country's unity debate was the tiny percentage of those surveyed who were familiar with details of the 28-point package of reforms that Conservative Alan Mar-



iner Joe Clark proposed last September. That package, which includes proposals for an elected Senate, more economic authority for Ottawa, and a distinct society clause for Quebec, is the subject of public consultations by an all-party committee of Parliament. But many Canadians may have difficulty following the debate. 30 per cent of those surveyed said that they had heard nothing about Clark's package and another 52 per cent said that they had only a "fuzzy" knowledge of all the proposals.

Desert of Canada's political leadership surfaced especially in the survey—most sharply in the wide support that respondents in every region expressed for the abandonment of constitutionalism in constitutional reform and for a direct say by the voters in the ratification of any constitutional accord. Only one Canadian in four supported the traditional process—meetings of the prime minister and provincial premiers. By contrast, 73 per cent of respondents nationally, including 65 per cent of Quebecers, favored the abandonment of "Canada from across the country" to seek a new accord. Nationally, more than half of the respondents would exclude all serving politicians from any role in such a constitutional convention.

The anybody-but-politicians message came across also in the strong support that respondents nationwide expressed for a national referendum as the best means for agreeing a final constitutional accord. Eighty-eight per cent of those surveyed told Maclean's that they wanted a referendum on the subject,

Crowds celebrating Canada Day on Parliament Hill show support for resolving the country's deepest differences

either as the sole test of a constitutional settlement or in conjunction with approval by Parliament and the provincial legislatures.

At the same time, the poll found Canadians to be far less rigidly divided over the constitutional recognition of Quebec's distinct character than other studies have suggested. Clearly, the issue remains contentious: a significant portion of those surveyed (30 per cent of Quebecers and 48 per cent of other Canadians) cited special treatment of Quebec as the main problem in resolving the constitutional impasse. One Canadian in five—both inside and

south—expressed 100 per cent of all respondents outside Quebec nevertheless said that they would accept the clause in the interests of reaching a settlement. In any future constitutional referendum, they, together with the 28 per cent of non-Quebecers who support the clause, could provide a decisive 52 per cent majority outside Quebec in favor of an accord that recognizes the province's distinct nature.

If compromise fails, however, the poll indicates that Canadians and Quebecers will approach their separate futures with very differ-

ent expectations. Among both groups, respondents predicted that separatists would lead each of them to markedly weaker economic. And while more than 90 per cent of respondents in both communities rejected the use of military force either to achieve or to prevent Quebec's separation, a substantial minority of those surveyed outside the province said that they would find it acceptable to resort to force in order "to protect Canadian interests in Quebec."

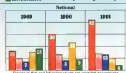
For now, such a violent outcome remains, largely no more than hypothetical. Indeed, in a series of questions that examined how Quebecers and other Canadians view one another as individuals, both groups expressed generally favorable impressions of the other's qualities in areas ranging from their work ethic to their sexual openness. Finally, that may not be enough to resolve the many differences that continue to divide the country. But the Canadians surveyed for the annual poll display a clear willingness to compromise in order to remain citizens of the same country. Just as powerfully, they also demonstrated not to be deprived of that country by the very politicians they elected to lead it.

CHRIS WOOD

RATING THE ISSUES

In your opinion, what is the most important problem facing Canada today?

	National	Quebec	Rest of Canada
Unemployment/economy	42	47	49
Government/defense	34	7	36
National unity	23	16	22
Taxes/GST	10	6	11
Environment	6	6	6



Figures in this and following charts are rounded percentages

A SEPARATE QUEBEC?

Is it likely that Quebec will leave Canada if no constitutional agreement is reached?

Yes, likely	1989	1990	1991
Quebec only	52	68	64
Rest of Canada	37	36	32

If Quebecers choose to separate, should the rest of Canada convince them to stay, or just let them go?

Let Quebec go	1989	1990	1991
Quebec only	39	31	36
Rest of Canada	48	59	59



Quebec City in winter: a billboard of warnings about the negative economic effects of deciding to create a new country

MACLEAN'S/DECIMA POLL

Foreseeing Pitfalls

Quebecers express anxiety over the dangers of going it alone

The some unvarnished echoes of an earlier time. More than 800 vocal partisans of Quebec independence packed a hall in downtown Montreal, oblivious to the gathering outside of winter's first snowflakes. They, far closer to an here, they sat spellbound, enraptured by the occasional wailing of the old separatist drum-beat Pierre Bourgault. The late now as silver as his tongue, the caustic chief of the Quebec independence movement, known as the Rassemblement pour l'indépendance nationale resurrected the image of such idealists as Pierre Trudeau who, he said, used black-and-

red threats to "frighten" Quebecers into voting against sovereignty-association in the 1980 referendum. He warned the crowd that similar events were unfolding once again, for precisely the same purpose. And he told them to keep their emotions in control: because "English Canada is assaulting us with threats—they are playing threats upon gregariousness in the hope that we will respond in kind."

If there was a note of anger in Bourgault's scorching performance that night in Montreal, there was a reason. For there is no denying the accuracy of his claim that Quebecers, in the prospect of another sovereignty referendum, have been bedeviled with all manner

of dire predictions about the consequences of separation. Just as happened in advance of the voting on May 20, 1980, Quebecers have been warned that a vote for separation in this referendum—scheduled for no later than next autumn—could mean a vote for seven disasters, particularly on the economic front. The development has outraged committed sovereigntists, according to who Jacques Boissard, the Parti Québécois' chief political officer, has labeled "economic terrorists." That what may well prove to be the opening of an ominous era in a growing suspicion that all of those gloomy forecasts are beginning to have an effect on Quebec opinion, not unlike the impact that

occurred in 1980. And the responses in Quebec to the Maclean's/Decima poll indicate that such a suspicion is well founded.

The poll uncovered profound anxieties within Quebec about the adverse economic effects of separation. It also exposed signs of a softening in Quebec attitudes over the possibility of a negotiated compromise to bridge Canada's linguistic and cultural divide.

Almost three out of five Quebecers polled (56 per cent) agreed that separation would weaken the Quebec economy. The same proportion predicted that Canada's economy, too, would suffer. At the same time, a majority of Quebec respondents now seem willing to be persuaded to stay in Canada—a change in sentiment from that prevailing a year ago in the wake of the March 1984 debacle. Fifty-eight per cent of those polled said that, in the event that Quebecers decided to separate, "the rest of Canada should do everything to convince them to stay." A year earlier, only 66 per cent of

Quebecers offered that view. On the other side of same question, only 39 per cent of Quebec respondents in the 1981 poll were inclined to agree that Canada should "just let them go," down sharply from the previous year's 53 per cent. "There has clearly been a sizable shift," noted Decima vice-president Christopher Kelly, "and I don't think it is stretching the point to speculate that economic issues are the driving force."

Quebecers have recently received a series of reminders about the negative effects of separation. In the week that the Maclean's/Decima survey was conducted, the C.D. Howe Institute released a study arguing that even an amicable parting of the ways between Canada and Quebec could force a substantial reduction in Quebec government spending and a civil service—and a 15-per-cent increase in taxes—all to satisfy foreign creditors. The report's authors, McGill University economists John McCallum and Chris Gown, speculated that a sovereign Quebec could face a \$14-billion budget deficit in each of the first five years of independence. Not only would that boost the provincial debt to high it would equal the value of the entire provincial economy, the authors concluded, but it would also "weaken" the province to the point of stifling lasting, possible permanent, damage. "Rough of Canada and Quebec period in French, Quebec would pay a high price for separation," the two economists asserted, adding that it would be "the poor, the young, the least skilled and the

least mobile who would suffer the most."

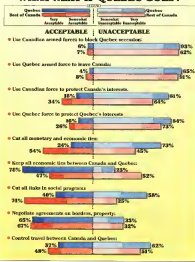
That report followed similar studies, including a conclusion by the Economic Council of Canada that shoring up Quebec's economy would cost the average Quebec family between \$800 and \$1,800 a year in lost income. The cumulative effect on Quebec opinion appears to have been to flag. "The overall conclusion that stays with me is negative," stated Marie Josée Decima, executive director of Montreal's Hudson Institute of Canada. "And in any case, I think if you speak to the average Quebecer right now, you will find that he or she is much more concerned with attempts to preserve a standard of living by maintaining a job—or finding a job."

When Decima researchers phoned Quebec opinion, more than one million residents of the province were receiving either welfare or unemployment insurance. In the Montreal area alone, 380,000 people were out of work. At the same time, faith in the strength of federal-

Quebec Inc.—the business-governmental-labor alliance that underpins the province's economy—had been shaken by such events as Hydro-Quebec's delay in its James Bay projects and the collapse of engineering giant Larivière's global report.

Although almost two-thirds of the Quebecers polled said that separation is likely without a constitutional agreement—roughly the same proportion as in last year's Maclean's poll—signs of Quebec's deep anxiety over economic issues repeatedly surfaced in the 1981 poll. When Quebecers were asked to comment on a series of propositions on the relationship with the rest of the country should Quebec finally decide to secede, the answers reflected the evidence of profound concerns about the economic impact of separation. And a comparison of responses to the same questions on the part of English Canada also revealed the extent of the wide gap between Quebec and the rest of the country in perceptions about the ties that

WHAT NEXT IF QUEBEC GOES?



would likely occur between an independent Quebec and the remaining parts of Canada.

The overwhelming majority of Quebecers polled rejected the maintenance of several key economic links with Canada. Almost three-quarters of Quebec respondents said that outside trade and investment ties with Canada would be unacceptable. Slightly more agreed it would be acceptable for a separate Quebec to retain all of the monetary and constitutional connections that now exist. Almost three in five opposed the idea of severing ties with the federal government, its education, unemployment and medicare. In the context of the 64 per cent of Quebec respondents who said that separation is likely to follow a future to secede on constitutional reforms, those figures may shed some light on how Quebecers view the prospects of independence.

The rest of Canada's outlook also came under fire. In fact, the Maclean's/Decima survey detected attitudes that are completely contrary to those prevailing in Quebec. A majority of those polled outside the province found it acceptable to sever monetary and economic ties between Canada and an independent Quebec. And an overwhelming majority accepted the idea of cutting social service links in such fields as unemployment insurance, medical care and higher education. Said Decima's Kelly: "I don't think there is any doubt people are saying they are going to be positive towards Quebec if Canada is broken up."

Whether the underlying motivation, popular attitudes uncovered by the poll indicate that Prime Minister Brian Mulroney is expressing a widely held sentiment in English-speaking Canada when he tells Quebecers, separately, that the country is not some form of political and economic imperialism where status can be chosen or discarded at will. "You cannot be a part-time Canadian," he told a Montreal audience in November. "You are either a Canadian or you get the benefits of Canadian citizenship, or you are not and you do not get any benefits at all."

That approach has been denounced by Quebec nationalists as yet another example of a colonialist economic blackmail. "Mulroney is dropping the debate to the level of his own vulgarism," which is very low," said the *Ministère*. The increasingly frequent warnings about the potentially dire consequences of Quebec independence uttered by Mulroney and other federalists recall similar campaigns in the past. Such tactics in advance of the 1980 referendum have been widely rebuffed by at least partly responsible for the resulting Quebecers to reject, by a 90-to-40 margin, sovereignty-independence. A similar pharosism may be recurring now, as reflected by the shifting attitudes revealed in the Maclean's/Decima survey—including a large number of Quebec respondents willing to vote in a hypothetical campaign on constitutional reforms, even on the wing issue of severing ties with the dominion that describe Quebec as a distinct society.

And as one issue above all others, poll respondents in both Quebec and the rest of Canada stood together in virtually unanimous opposition to the use of arms either to block Quebec's independence or enforce it. In the same vein, five out of five Quebecers polled rejected the notion that either Canada or Quebec could resort to force to protect their respective interests inside Quebec. Outside of Quebec, there was a less substantial margin of opposition to these possibilities but still, a majority rejected the idea.

The new study against the use of force may well be another reflection of the fact that, in the weeks preceding and during this time, the poll was

legislative committee that, in his opinion, there was no legal reason to prevent Canadian troops from being used to protect federal interests if Quebec unilaterally declared independence.

Quebec's boundaries lie at the core of the violence issue. Scott voiced one view when he told the legislative committee: "If there is a Quebec nation, defined by its ties in language, culture and history, there are other nations defined in the same way, including nations and anglophones. If some have the right to self-determination, others should equally have them in the same way." Quebec nationalists strenuously oppose that approach, maintaining that Quebec's frontiers are movable and not subject to armed force. But the Maclean's/Decima survey showed that two-thirds of Quebec respondents expressed a willingness to negotiate

Accents of Conflict

Most favor two languages, but bilingualism still annoys many people

Arch Pofford argues that he is engaged in a power struggle with some of his fellow Canadians. His battle is being fought over language, one of the most emotionally potent of Canadian political issues. Pofford is president of the New Brunswick Confederation of Business Youth (CNB), which opposes the legal status of French as provincial legislation. His party won eight legislative seats in New Brunswick's election on Sept. 23 and became the official opposition to Premier Frank McKenna's governing Liberals. Pofford contends that official bilingualism is too expensive for a poor province like New Brunswick, and he argues that the province's \$25,000-strong Acadian minority "has to realize that English is the language of business in the world." But although CBN's success at the ballot box doesn't guarantee the power of the anti-bilingualism message to come across, the Maclean's/Decima poll shows that, overall, most of the people questioned automatically favor a Canada with two official languages.

All the same time, the poll also indicates evidence that the 25-year-old national bilingualism policy remains with many Canadians in a diverse view—one that colors the current debate over the constitutional future of Canada. The national majority of poll respondents who agreed with the statement that "having two official languages in Canada makes no sense" is reflected by the fact that it includes almost four out of five Quebecers. Outside Quebec, respondents split almost evenly between support for that statement and the proposition that "having two official languages is a source of constant conflict and we

would be better off with just one language." A Decima analysis also shows that those who favor a one-language Canada are more inclined to oppose a key element of federal proposals for constitutional reform. Three out of four of those respondents, compared with just over half overall, oppose the recognition of Quebec as a distinct society. About half of them, compared with 48 per cent of all poll respondents,

included that defining Quebec as a distinct society would give that province a broad range of new powers under the Constitution. And proportionally more of those who would prefer a single official language in Canada—68 per cent, compared with 42 per cent of the country at large—agreed that if Quebecers choose to secede, Canada should "just let them go."

Other poll responses indicate that the 58-percent support for bilingualism outside Quebec would decline sharply if that province were to separate from the rest of Canada. In that case, only 33 per cent of the Quebecers polled outside Quebec considered that abolishing official bilingualism in Canada would be unacceptable. Said Richard Bibby, a sociologist at the University of Lethbridge, Alta., who has studied Canadian attitudes for 16 years. "Bilingualism has always been a very relevant concession to Quebec." He added: "Out West, when it is not known whether Quebec is even going to stay in the country, the idea of two official languages becomes almost absurd."

In a climate of economic trouble, the language debate is often a stand-off of other grievances. Pofford notes among the Quebec workers who cross the New Brunswick border into the Campbellton area to "take jobs from us." He said Pofford: "That's the sort of thing that causes tension and resentment between the two language groups, and it's spreading to the rest of the country." The Maclean's/Decima poll shows that in a country where relations between French and English communities have been the worst in the social fabric, the threat of official bilingualism is threatening to unravel.

MICHELLE WALLACE
in Ottawa



Quebecers demonstrate for French language law: concern over cultural survival

taken, the prospect of Quebec separation provoked violence was being widely discussed. The delicate subject has been raised both inside and outside Quebec, sparking so much controversy. The earlier section of a Parti Québécois strategy session, where the possibility of creating an armed force to deal with post-independence civil unrest was discussed. It arose upon during a subsequent conference in Toronto, where several analysts debated the military implications of Quebec secession. And approximately the same time as Quebec's opinion was being surveyed when McGill University law professor Stephen Scott told a Quebec

site over boundaries and property in the event of separation, a figure mirrored by poll responses in the rest of Canada. Clearly, the evidence gathered in the latest Maclean's/Decima annual poll seems to have uncovered an emerging willingness on the part of many Quebecers to arrive at some sort of compromise, if only to avoid adding to an already long list of economic woes. That may not be catch a foundation upon which to build a restructured and revitalized nation. But it is a start.

BARRY CAMERON in Montreal

THE SPLIT OVER LANGUAGE									
	B.C.	Alta.	Sask.	Man.	Ont.	Que.	N.B.	Atl.	Canada
Speak English only	53	81	88	91	50	4	76	61	
Speak French only	0	0	0	2	9	33	1	0	
Speak both	39	26	22	17	39	63	21	31	
Favor official bilingualism	59	40	30	30	50	75	64	57	
Prefer only one official language	46	56	46	54	45	25	35	43	

UNILINGUAL ATTITUDES									
Attitudes to language among Canadians who speak only one official language—in Quebec, those who speak only French (and in French) and those who speak only English (and in English); Quebec, those who speak only English (and in English)									
I get along best speaking only one official language									
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	
Quebec	65	37	68	30	31	64			
Rest of Canada	39	6	43	55	35	44			



Breaching The Barriers

Common ground appears on the Constitution

For Winnipeg MP Dorothy Dobbs, the federal election is a watershed event. Most Canadians have only a dim grasp of the issues that may rend the country before the year is out. As co-chairman with Senator Gérard Boudreau of a parliamentary committee on the Constitution, Dobbs has spent much of the past three months listening to Canadians express confidence and concern over the federal government's proposals to reform Confederation. With the eighth annual Maclean's/Decima poll, however, the full extent of these national emotions became soberly clear. And for Dobbs, there was no escaping the conclusion that the country's politicians, including herself, have failed its citizens. Said the first-time MP: "I think the problem is with us. We have to explain this issue better, in simple terms that we understand and discuss."

Clearly, many Canadians do not feel that they have yet been given that simple and direct explanation of the government's proposals. Fully four out of five of those polled for Maclean's said that they knew little or nothing about the government's plan to make sweeping changes to the Constitution—including recognizing Quebec as a "distinct society." At the same time, only a small minority (13 per cent, actually) said that they consider the Constitution to be the country's most pressing problem; three times as many considered that democracy for the economy.

Despite that, other poll results indicate a readiness to

resolve Canada's protracted unity crisis. The annual survey found unexpectedly wide support across the country for a national compromise. The most hopeful finding: nearly half of Quebecers and other Canadians surveyed said that they were willing to give ground on the most divisive federal proposal—Quebec's recognition as a distinct society—if that were the only way to reach a constitutional settlement. Said Decima analyst Catherine Murray: "Basically, one in two Canadians is prepared to compromise. You would not have seen that a year ago."

Still, many Canadians remain skeptical with other details of what Ottawa is asking them to agree to. The federal government said that it would lay its proposals for reform next September. Among other things, they call for an elected Senate, shortened self-government measures

to strip down benefits to interprovincial trade and a closer integrating Quebec as a distinct society—defined as "including a French-speaking majority, a unique culture and a civil law tradition." Surveyed alone, two months after those proposals were unveiled, however, 53 per cent of poll respondents told Decima's researchers that they had heard "only vaguely" about the proposals. Indeed, 30 per cent said that they knew nothing at all about them. Only 16 per cent claimed to know "the basics" of the federal plan. And nearly three per cent claimed to know about Ottawa's proposals in detail. (Poll respondents were given six copies of the proposals in subsequent questioning.)

Experts offered several explanations for that low awareness of the issue. Bruce Thorne, director of the Canadian studies program at the University of Calgary, for one, speculated that

Winnipeg, Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa at 1990 constitutional conference: 'confederation'

Canadians are too concerned about the economy to focus their attention on the Constitution. Remarked Thorne: "There is an enormous amount of suffering and worry. The Constitution is too gloomy and it is too shortening. We are just trying to get by." Added University of Toronto historian Michael Bliss: "You cannot eat national unity and you cannot wear it on your back."

The very complexity of the constitutional debate may be another reason for Canadians' aversion to it. "There is information overload," said pollster of science professor Donald Desautels of the University of New Brunswick at Saint John. "The differences between all the proposals are getting so slight, you hear them and you think you have heard them before. So you do not pay any attention to them."

At least one Quebec Conservative MP shares the prevailing impatience with the Constitution—setting himself apart from most of his provincial colleagues. Last fall, St-Maurice MP Denis Frenette, discovered through a survey that constitutional reform ranked a mere seventh on the list of his constituents' priorities. In response, he called for a highly driven on-air constitutional discussion. Declared Frenette: "I think having a freeze of all those kinds of discussions for one or two years will be seriously welcomed in every part of Canada, including Quebec."

No such freeze is likely. Constitutional Affairs Minis-

ter Joe Clark acknowledged in an interview that many voters feel "that we have been talking too much about the Constitution and that we need to get on to other issues." But he added: "There is a growing sense that, like it or not—and whether this package is ideal or not—we have to try to get it behind us."

ent of other Canadians who oppose it. Even so, the poll found reason for optimism that those long-standing differences can be overcome.

Clearly, the perception lingers outside Quebec that the government's latest version of the distinct society would give that province powers that others do not have. Forty-five per

cent of Canadians polled outside Quebec, including the majority of those opposed to the clause, told Decima that the words would give the government of Quebec "powers in [a] broad range of areas where it did not have power before." Only 30 per cent said that those powers would be limited to the areas defined as Clark's proposal: language, culture and civil law. Riverside (15 per cent) described the clause as "just a symbolic phrase."

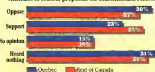
The view inside the French-speaking province is very different. Among Quebecers polled, more than two-thirds said that recognition as a distinct society would either confer limited new powers to the distinct society (37 per cent) or be purely symbolic (33 per cent). Only one in four said that the clause would give Quebec additional powers over a wide area.

But the survey also identified room for accommodation between Quebecers who insist upon the clause—while playing down its significance—and other Canadians who reject it because they believe that it will take away sweeping affect. That desire for compromise seems



REFORMING THE CONSTITUTION

• Attitudes to federal proposals on constitutional reform



• The main problem impeding a constitutional agreement

	Quebec	Rest of Canada
The proposed description of Quebec as a distinct society	20	23
Special treatment for Quebec's French language and culture	10	23
Proposals do not go far enough to keep Quebec in Canada	12	7
The proposed shifts in power between Ottawa and the provinces	21	11
Lack of understanding of the federal proposals' details	22	26
Other/combination/no opinion	15	10

Quebec's empty chair at provincial premiers' meeting in Whitby, Ont., in August attracts



to be almost equally strong among both camps. While Quebecers, while most respondents supported the distinct society clause, almost half of those (58 per cent of all Quebecers surveyed) said that they would be willing to leave the wingpoint of the Constitution if that were the only way to get a deal. Similarly, two-thirds of those who oppose the clause in the rest of Canada (53 per cent of the total) said that they would be prepared to accept its inclusion if that were the only way to get a final agreement. That measure of compromise—among both supporters and opponents of the distinct society clause—leads to a striking conclusion: a clear majority of Canadians surveyed would accept a constitutional settlement regardless of whether it contained the clause.

In an interesting twist, the poll also showed that supporters of the distinct society clause in Quebec are more likely to be willing to budge in their opposition to the clause also considered it highly unlikely that the province would secede under any circumstances. Other words, said Demos analyst Christopher Kelly, "They do not really see any risk in their opposition."

There was an even greater willingness to compromise among Canadians outside Quebec: when they were asked to consider alternative wording for the recognition of that province's differences, 71 per cent of Quebecers were described as possessing "a unique language and culture," 54 per cent of non-Quebecers said that they would be more likely to accept the idea than if the language red text "diversity" was endorsed in the Constitution. Said New Brunswick's Desmond Bessy, "Everybody recognizes the reality of Quebec. What they do not like is the chance that Quebec is going to have some new power."

Tambling's Bill's agreement, noting that "distinct" has become a symbol.

In the poll, however, the distinct society clause caused heated arguments when respondents were asked to identify the most important change in the federal package. Thirty-eight per cent of those (58 per cent of all Quebecers, 42 per cent of other respondents) said the proposal to eliminate provincial trade barriers as the most important part of the package. Although the survey did not require whether these respondents approved or disapproved of the trade

proposal, some analysts suggested Canadians are likely to support any measure that holds out the promise of easing the tough economic times. Said University of Calgary professor David Peterson, who is currently working with a task force studying Clark's economic proposals on behalf of that city's Chamber of Commerce, "I have not seen anybody opposed to it at all. Both small and medium-sized businesses

thru-disposed federal power grab in response. Clark has said that he is prepared to amend the proposal to make it more palatable to the province. Said Clark, after meeting with Quebec's largest employer group in November: "We do not intend to act unilaterally. No one language does not reflect our intentions, we will change words." But Clark insisted that the economic proposals would remain as the constitutional reform package.

Others expressed skepticism that Clark's undertaking will be kept. Tambling's Bill said that he has "seen every sign that the government is going to drop economic issues from the proposals like a hot potato." "The reason, in the end, is that 'because provincial politicians—for all their posturing about being in favour of free trade—usually are not.' Added the historian, "This is an example of the people being out ahead of the politicians."

It may not be the only such example. In several respects, Canadians have been the most recent asked Maclean's survey expressed distrust of politicians' ability to carry out their wishes about constitutional change. For one thing, nearly three-quarters of those surveyed (85 per cent of Quebecers and 76 per cent of other Canadians) called for some form of constitutional assembly to be established. Another 20 per cent of those surveyed (85 per cent of Quebecers and 76 per cent of other Canadians) called for some form of constitutional assembly to be established.

Clark's proposal to establish a constitutional conference—either with or without the help of elected politicians—would result in an agreement on constitutional reform. Politicians seem well aware of the popular mood. B.C. New Democrat MP Lynn Huxley had a similarly gloomy assessment as her participation in Golden's preliminary committee on constitutional reform. Said Huxley, "We are in the cut-and-throat fight, where the political fire storm, are now to have someone dirty words." For his part, Clark agreed in November to convene a series of five conferences in early 1993, at which a range of nonpolitical experts will debate various aspects of the government's reform package.

At the same time, almost nine-tenths of Canadians surveyed spoke out in favour of a national referendum to ratify whatever constitutional settlement emerges. Nearly one-half of the respondents (44 per cent) would have the question come directly to a national referendum. Almost one-third (30 per cent) would have a referendum in addition to a consultation with Parliament and the 10 provincial legislatures.



Parti Québécois leader Jacques Parizeau speaking at a Montreal rally last week.

Barely one Canadian in 10 expressed approval for the existing confederation formula, which requires only the approval of Parliament and the legislatures, with no opportunity for a constitutional vote.

Clearly, not every Canadian is convinced about the merits of a referendum. Former Saskatchewan premier Allan Rock, for one, spoke out against such a step when he appeared before the Banquet-Québec constitutional committee in December. Said Rock, who led the Public province from 1971 until 1982, "I detect that a plebiscite could be significantly abused." Among participants in the Maclean's Montreal forum, meanwhile, S.J. Andrews, N.B., step over. Sheila Simpson expressed her concern that Canadians know too little about the reform proposals to render a fair verdict on them in a referendum. Said Simpson, "I am opposed to the idea because I believe choices should be made with a lot of thought and education."

But Simpson and Blais were in a minority. Support for a referendum to ratify the Constitution is strongest in Manitoba and British Columbia, and weakest in Quebec and Saskatchewan. But even in the latter two provinces, a clear majority of respondents (82 per cent in Quebec and 79 per cent in Saskatchewan) supported the notion either on its own or in tandem with legislative approval. In fact, two governments—British Columbia and Quebec—have already committed themselves to hold provincial referendums on the final constitutional proposal.

And at least one expert holds that Canadians' apparent enthusiasm with the issues is not a good enough reason to rule out a national referendum on the Constitution. According to Richard Johnston, a professor of political science at the University of British Columbia, many Canadians have increasingly remained unconvinced about the Constitution out of frustration with a consultation process that he describes as a "hoax." Declared Johnston, "If

you tell people they will not be held responsible for their actions, they will not be held responsible." But, as he says, Canadians would "rise to the challenge and perform their civic duty" if they had confidence that their opinion, expressed in a referendum, would determine the country's constitutional future.

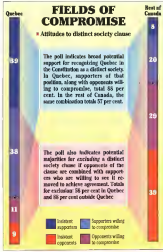
The federal government, meanwhile, has backed away from its earlier willingness to

consider a nationwide referendum to ratify a reformed Constitution. In late November, Clark delayed legislation that would have required Ontario to hold such a vote. In doing so, he yielded to pressure from the Conservative Quebec caucus, whose members feared that a majority of other Canadians might impose a settlement on Quebec. 508, Clark told Maclean's that he remains "committed to some form of consultation," adding, "We have not decided yet what it will be."

Within the next few months, Clark and Prime Minister Brian Mulroney will have to determine what form their consultation will take. For his part, Mulroney has already ruled out one option: he will not hold an election on national unity. But he has also made it clear that the ultimate decision on the country's future will rest with its citizens. "Canadians are going to have to decide," Mulroney said in a recent speech, "whether they want to keep a country or whether they want to lose a heritage."

Clearly, whatever decisions affect the nation, the latest annual Maclean's/Decima poll uncovered a strong public desire for a settlement that will not endanger Canada. The challenge for Mulroney, as for Clark and Dubin, is to overcome the twin hurdles of the public's ignorance of the government's proposals and its distrust of the government's message given how difficult to flag a national compromise.

NANCY WOOD



FIELDS OF COMPROMISE

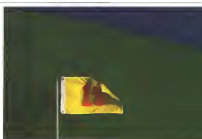
Attitudes to distinct society clause

The poll indicates broad potential support for recognizing Quebec in the Constitution as a distinct society. In Quebec, supporters of that position, along with opponents willing to compromise, total 88 per cent. In the rest of Canada, the same combination totals 57 per cent.

The poll also indicates potential majorities for enshrining a distinct society clause if opponents of the clause are combined with supporters who are willing to see it removed to achieve agreement. Totals for inclusion: 58 per cent in Quebec and 56 per cent outside Quebec.

are very, very keen on it." Similarly, participants at Maclean's Montreal forum also strongly supported the government's proposal of a final trade among the provinces—although they suggested that it could be accomplished outside constitutional negotiations.

Despite its potential popularity with the public, Ottawa's proposal to lower interprovincial trade barriers may be among the most vulnerable elements of the federal package. Almost two-thirds of government critics, eager to pressure negotiators that protect their own industries, have opposed the measure as a



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SEE FLORIDA



Winter in (left to right) Goose Cove, P.E.I.; Outremont, Que.; downtown Toronto; Jasper, Alta.; and Moncton; many Canadians share the view that their country is winter, a view that is only about Quebec made popular in that province by folk singer Gilles Thériault

MACLEAN'S/DECIMA POLL

Across The Divide

Canada's two solitudes express mixed feelings about each other

When the late Canadian novelist Hugh MacLennan penned his 1945 classic *Two Solitudes*, he blamed the French and English cultures that joined in Confederation to "old and alien the new lands." It went on to say that for nearly a century, whatever its contents, the bottle had still not broken. Now, with a constitutional deadline looming in 1995, the nation seems to be at the very brink of a breakup. The battle may yet change, but according to the Maclean's/Decima poll, MacLennan's 44-year-old depiction of two dissimilar elements trapped in the same vessel rings remarkably true.

Among questions designed to find out how Quebecers and other Canadians see each other, one series asked respondents outside Quebec—almost totally English-speaking Canadians—to assess Quebecers and themselves on a series of supplied descriptions. It asked Quebecers—only 12 per cent of them anglophones—to do the same about Canadians outside Quebec and themselves. The results demonstrated that the two communities have quite shared values. Still, respondents outside

the province were proportionately less generous towards Quebecers than Quebecers were towards other Canadians.

To answer to see such proportion, three out of five of the respondents outside Quebec described Quebecers in narrow-minded, whereas a majority of Quebecers picked the opposite description—open-minded—to describe other Canadians. Quebecers overwhelmingly (85 per cent) chose to describe other Canadians as being polite, while a less majority of non-Quebecers (52 per cent) responded the opposite. By wide margins, Quebecers were proportionately more inclined to describe other Canadians as friendly, polite and open-minded than were respondents outside Quebec to apply those words to Quebecers. Said Decima vice-president Christopher Kelly: "Canadians outside Quebec are often harsh in their assessments of Quebecers. It's surprising that they are as negative as they are."

The two solitudes do, however, find common ground in several key areas. Each rated the other well for being knowledgeable and imaginative. And in one category, the rest of Canada gave a clear victory to Quebecers—for

being more "open" in their sexual attitudes. Notably, a substantial two out of three of all poll respondents agreed that Quebecers and the rest are "exactly the same" or "essentially the same" with some small differences. But Quebecers were less inclined than other Canadians to agree with that—only 57 per cent of Quebec respondents, compared with 73 per cent of other Canadians. And when asked in detail about attitudes in the other regard, 92 per cent of Canadians outside Quebec described themselves as "very friendly" or "somewhat friendly," but only 47 per cent of those viewed Quebecers in those terms.

The split between the two communities emerged in other poll results. When respondents in each group were asked to describe the others—and themselves—in one word of their choice, Canadians outside Quebec proved to be less charitable towards Quebecers than Quebecers were to them. Respondents outside Quebec were more inclined to use such negative terms as "chilly," "spoiled" and "stubborn," rather than the positive terms used in similar numbers of replies, such as "good," "jovial" and "strong." Decima's analysis

shows that only 25 per cent of Quebecers describe non-Quebecers in negative terms, while 37 per cent of Canadian respondents outside Quebec use negative terms to portray Quebecers. In an analysis that assimilates similar responses into groups, the most commonly used category of terms in Quebecers' descriptions of themselves—often used by 18 per cent of those respondents—was the one that grouped "different," "distinct" or "separate." The highest-ranked grouping of self-descriptions among respondents in the rest of Canada, used by 12 per cent, included "friendly," "kind," "likable," and "nice."

Such differences in perception between Quebecers and English-Canadian, and Louis Miguault, a professor of French at the University of Toronto, is due to a blend of current events, history and longstanding misunderstanding. Said Miguault: "In the 1970s and early 1980s, a high degree of positive attitudes towards Quebec had developed in English Can-

ada." But now, he added, "there is a refusal to attempt to understand." Miguault said that Quebecers view other Canadians in a better light in part because their quarrel with English Canada is based on history and not on "prejudices." Said Miguault: "French-Canadians are upset with the historical process—the feeling of having been colonized and having been taken advantage of. It is not personal at all—it is a historical thing."

But the Maclean's poll shows that, across the divide, whether categorizing themselves or the other group, more than four out of five poll respondents on both sides agreed in describing each other as "hardworking" rather than "lazy." And roughly equal numbers on each side similarly described themselves and the others as "impassive."

In considering a close advantage to Quebecers in terms of sexual attitudes, 72 per cent of other Canadians concluded that Quebecers are "very" or "somewhat" open about sex, but

only 61 per cent described themselves that way. Quebecers in the survey were even more convinced about their openness on sex: 86 per cent of them described themselves that way, and 85 per cent said that other Canadians are too. On the other side of the question, only 10 per cent of respondents outside Quebec chose to describe Quebecers as "very uptight" or "somewhat uptight" about sex—a far lower proportion than the 37 per cent of non-Quebecers who described themselves that way. Quebecers agreed—only 50 per cent said that they themselves are uptight about sex, while 25 per cent ascribed that attitude to other Canadians.

While the survey suggests a degree of hostility between the Confederation partners, getting to know one another clearly alleviates those feelings. When respondents on both sides were asked whether they had visited the other part of Canada in the past two or three years, only 35 per cent of non-Quebecers said that they had visited Quebec. But 60 per cent of Quebecers had travelled outside the province. That a Decima analysis found that the minority of visitors to Quebec were more inclined than others in the rest of Canada to describe Quebecers as "friendly." Says Decima's Kelly: "Beliefs are being made in the absence of any direct experience of Quebecers. Some of these attitudes are primarily ignorance."

Perhaps paradoxically, if a national split does occur, the poll shows that non-Quebecers may be more inclined than Quebecers to visit a separate Quebec—59 per cent of them said that they would be likely to do so. And 85 per cent of Quebecers say they would be likely to visit across a new frontier. Whether future relations exist on a more or less amicable plane, however, will likely be determined in the rest of the decade as now unfolding.

GLEN ALLEN in Ottawa

AS CANADIANS SEE EACH OTHER

Essentially the same Mainly the same/ small differences Mainly different/ small similarities Essentially different

How Quebecers compare themselves with other Canadians

16% 39% 21% 19%

How other Canadians compare themselves with Quebecers

20% 51% 14% 14%

A Verdict On Politics

Many voters are disenchanted with the established parties



Maclean with wife Sandra at a barbershop in July; many people say that they are considering a vote for Reform next time

The verdict on Canadian politics is severe. The opinion of politicians is sharply critical. Altogether, the Maclean's/Decima poll draws a portrait of an electorate deeply disenchanted with traditional politics and political institutions—and of a people eager for radical change to both. Three out of five of the voting-age Canadians polled say that there is little to choose among the three mainstream political parties. And almost half of them say that they are at least somewhat likely to vote in the next federal election for one of the two alternatives that emerged as serious challengers in pre-performance seats since the 1988 election.

The Reform party and the Bloc Québécois, whatever the partisan color of the men and women who sit in Parliament, three out of five poll respondents agreed that between general election voters should be able to choose their local MP if most of them decide that the member is not representing their properly. Only one in 10 thinks the politicians alone to make a final decision on a new constitutional package, most say that decision should be made by the people in a referendum. But Decima Research vice-president Christopher Kelly, who poll respondents said that they are "somewhat likely" to vote for the Reform party.

He adds: "What it ultimately indicates is that the public perceives politicians of whatever stripe to be out of touch with what average Canadians want."

If there is little comfort for long-established parties and political institutions is one of the poll responses, opinions about the current parties appear to form a grimmer picture to the political status quo—and to national unity. Only 35 per cent of Canadians questioned agreed that Canada "needs a new political party," while the rest of the respondents said that what is needed is for the three main parties to "give Canadians a clearer view of their positions on the issues."

But when Canadians outside Quebec were asked whether they would vote in the next election for the Reform party, which excludes Quebec from its opening drive, 46 per cent said that it was "very likely" (14 per cent) or "somewhat likely" (32 per cent) that they would cast their vote for a Reform candidate.

Parried results emerged when Quebecers were asked separately about their attitudes to the Bloc Québécois, the pro-independence party that was founded in 1989 by former Conservative cabinet minister Lucien Bouchard and now has 66 members in the Commons, including eight who defected from other parties and one, Gilles Duceppe, who won a 1996 Montreal by-election. In the poll, 50 per cent of Quebecers said that they are "somewhat likely" (58 per cent) or "very likely" (34 per cent) to vote for the Bloc in the next election.

Protested support for Reform, which is led by Calgary's Preston Manning, ranged as high as 59 per cent among respondents in Alberta. Reform's birthplace and the home of its one MP, Deborah Grey, who won a 1988 by-election at Beaver River. It stood at a reported low of 30 per cent in neighboring Saskatchewan, where voters elected a pro-provincial government a month before the poll was conducted. When queried on the national poll results, Richard Johnston, a University of British Columbia political scientist who studies public opinion, responded that they do not imply that a full 46 per cent of English-Canadian had expressed a final interest to vote Reform. "No," he said, "Johnston. 'I'm not sure' is the Reform answer?"

Those Canadians who said that they would consider voting for Reform were asked to choose four statements the main reason why they might vote for the party. Half of them chose the statement that "it is the only party prepared to listen to the needs of average Canadians." About one-quarter of them agreed merely that Reform "could do worse than the main parties." The remainder divided between one party who concluded that Reform is "the only party which takes the needs of English-Canadians seriously" and seven per cent who cited the statement that Reform "is the only party prepared to stand up to Quebec." Of the interest shown in Reform, Decima's Kelly said: "Half the respondents here are saying the three main parties are not of touch with what they want; that means right through in their minds."

Among Quebec respondents who said that they would consider voting for the Bloc Québécois, in choosing among a similar series of statements 39 per cent agreed that the Bloc is "the only party prepared to listen to the needs of average Quebecers." Another 37 per cent concluded that "it could do worse than the main parties," and 14 per cent opted for the statement that "it is the only party prepared to stand up to English Canada." Andrew Scalet, a University of Western Ontario political scientist with an interest in Quebec politics, said that the poll's finding that 50 per cent of Quebecers are at least "somewhat likely" to vote for a Bloc candidate is "surprisingly high." He added: "This would give the Conservatives a great deal to be concerned about."

He also observed that support for the Bloc is a provision swept by the Conservatives in the last federal election "single step into jeopardy" the "they government's life-November" shift away from holding a Canada-wide referendum.

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THE SUPPORT FOR REFORM

• Likelihood of voting for Reform in next election

	Somewhat likely	Very likely	Not at all likely	Not very likely
Canada	27%	19%	29%	25%
British Columbia	27%	22%	25%	26%
Alberta	25%	31%	21%	23%
Saskatchewan	29%	11%	34%	26%
Ontario	20%	23%	31%	26%
Atlantic provinces	23%	16%	29%	32%

• I am somewhat or very likely to vote for Reform because it:

	Canada	P.C.	Lib.	Alta.	Sask.	Ont.	Atl.
Is the only party ready to listen to the needs of average Canadians	50	31	48	43	60	50	48
Could do worse than the main parties	24	18	32	37	31	27	30
Is the only party that takes account of English-Canadian interests in English Canada	35	39	16	6	12	16	21

ties on the Conservatives. Such a proposal had drawn strong opposition from many politicians in Quebec, including Terry Fox.

The widespread interest in new political alternatives is also demonstrated as responses to a question about the three main parties. Seventy-four per cent of respondents nationally agreed with the statement that "it doesn't matter which of the three main political parties is in power because in the end they would all govern pretty much the same." That response rate rises to 82 per cent in Quebec, against 72 per cent in the rest of Canada. According to statistics based on the poll, that result in particular reflects a concern among Canadians that all three parties share the same constitutional agenda and that none is prepared to take a position that would move Canada from its current economic difficulties.

University of Calgary political scientist Barry Cooper noted that the perspective of Ontario

with an NDP provincial government, elected in 1990, may have been influential. Said Cooper: "It looks like Bob Rae is going to have to govern like an ordinary political party. He will not be able to do that. The pressure of now, radically different parties makes the three mainstream parties seem more the same—even when they are not. Said Johnston: "How that Reform is not there demonstrating the difference between the three main parties (that makes the other three look more alike)."

At the same time, there is evidence in the poll that only Canadian voters that the three main parties would reformulate and then express policy that would address real concerns on the economy, the Constitution and other matters. Nearly two-thirds of respondents—63 per cent—agreed with the statement that

"the main parties need to give a clearer view of their positions," rather than with the proposition that the country needs a new, alternative party. Decima's Kelly said that Canadians are "clamoring" for clear positions on economic, social and other issues. He said that the three main parties, in their poll, unemployment and other economic concerns are by far the most frequently cited concerns of important issues among Canadians. Said Johnston: "There are a lot of people out there who find themselves feeling as though they have to vote Reform but would really prefer that one of the other ones would break out from the pack."

At the same time, many poll respondents clearly indicated a desire to start more control over the government. Sixty per cent of them agreed that a constitutional amendment should be empowered to result in 80 per cent of the government's decisions being subject to a referendum. The 55 per cent in last year's Maclean's poll who favored the power to result in an MP by a petition approved by a referendum.

The statement favoring such a stronger national referendum caught the attention of 54 per cent of Quebec respondents. Said the University of Western Ontario's Scalet: "Most people would say, 'Sure, that's a great idea.' But, like others, he cautioned that Canadians may have thought through the implications of such a change in the system for the government. "People love the idea of reform. It's one of the most dangerous proposals made, but what you're picking up is a sort of search for a way to punish politicians directly—and reform is an obvious thing."

It is unclear whether there is a strong in favor of using a referendum to make one of the most momentous decisions in contemporary Canadian life—the amendment of the Constitu-

ation in various national unity. They are divided as to how the final judgment should be completed. Offered a choice of three possible methods of proceeding, the smallest proportion of poll respondents, 25 per cent, agreed to a procedure similar to the Meech Lake process from 1987 to 1990 when the Prime Minister and the provincial premiers negotiated a promise. But 39 per cent of respondents selected something else while another 36 per cent of a larger group of Canadians, excluding politicians, as a form of constitutional assembly. The middle ground was held by 34 per cent who favoured a combination of individual citizens and politicians.

But the poll indicates that Canadians clearly want to put their stamp on a constitutional process. Indeed, when asked how the constitutional review "should be finally settled," 44 per cent said it should be put to a vote in a national referendum and a further 16 per cent said amendments should come through a process involving both a referendum and approval by Parliament and the provincial legislatures. Only 11 per cent said it should be left to Parliament and legislatures alone. In fact, even though Constitutional Affairs Minister Joe Clark has backed away from holding a national referendum in the face of opposition from Quebec politicians, the poll shows that a plurality of 42 per cent of Quebecers are amenable to holding a national referendum alone or in combination with the constitutional route.

For his part, the University of Calgary's Cooper said that the willingness to make use of a national referendum—used only twice before in Canada's history—was an indication of growing "repugnance" towards the country. "This is new," and Cooper "has been astounded in recent years Canadians are not prepared to allow their political leaders alone to make important decisions on their behalf." Said Mac's Jonathan "People want a direct say at the end of the game." He added that "the ultimate argument for the referendum is that it's like the gateway to a constitutional road." He also said the federal public engagement over the Meech Lake second—the agreement reached in private by the first ministers, which then

failed to win the unanimous ratification of the provincial legislatures—Jonathan added, "You end up with another Meech Lake if you don't make a serious commitment to real consultation by giving the people a vote."



Charest speaking in Quebec nationalism in November criticism

Even the post-Meech efforts by both federal and provincial governments to build the public's support to have left many Canadians mistrustful of the political process. Asked to choose among a series of comments on the recent federal and provincial public hearings

—about believing within all-party preliminary committee that was assigned to select options on federal constitutional proposals. But beyond that, after the hearings, Jonathan added, "the decision is yours. 'You cannot have a realistic constitution in the time frame available, given the size and scale of the country.' And Cooper expressed the view that

"There are not really constitutional issues in any meaningful sense—only an ideological politics." Still, 46 per cent of poll respondents agreed that governments in consultation have been "an effective way of proceeding to select an ideological government," and most of those people said that "we should do more" of them. Said Decima's Kelly: "You still are a demand for consultation—people are not indicating that rule yet."

Despite the poll's indication of widespread dissatisfaction with politicians and the political system, other respondents indicated that a significant number of Canadians may hold more positive opinions. Offered a range of suggestions on how they would come to the conclusion if they had a problem in their community that affected a large number of people, a plurality of poll respondents—32 per cent—

chose "the elected representatives in their area" (the other options were 22 per cent, a local citizens' organization (6 per cent) or a local business leader (7 per cent). Another 21 per cent said that they would rely on themselves individually to write the problem.

Confidence in politicians in problem-solving was expressed by fewer Quebec respondents—16 per cent—than in the rest of Canada (37 per cent) and was highest of all in Saskatchewan, at 43 per cent. Expression of self-confidence was more prevalent in Quebec, where 26 per cent of respondents said they "rely on themselves in solving a community problem." That compared with 18 per cent in the rest of Canada who responded that way, and with only 12 per cent in Saskatchewan—fewer than any other province.

As a time of widespread dissatisfaction with the capacity of politicians to resolve an array of all but attractive problems besetting the country, the citizens themselves often seem divided and uncertain over the best way to tackle these issues.

GLEN ALLEN in Ottawa

The Recession Blues

Canadians are united in concern over employment and taxes

In a world of economic pessimism has a steady habit of becoming reality. If enough people believe that conditions are going to worsen, spending by consumers starts to decline and company executives start to plan to increase production and hire more workers. With that, the economy takes a nosedive. And the results of the eighth annual Maclean's/Decima poll appear to offer little reason for optimism about Canada's economic prospects in 1992. According to Statistics Canada, the country's economy slumped by almost 2 per cent between April, 1991, and March, 1992, but has been expanding gradually since. In spite of that, only one per cent of those interviewed for the poll said that they believed the economy was improving, while 35 per cent said that the economy actually seemed to be getting worse.

The response to several other questions provides further evidence of the current widespread mood of pessimism among Canadians. Indeed, anxiety about the economy for overweighed concerns over national unity and Canada's political future. The percentage of people who said that they are dissatisfied with their present economic situation was at its highest level in eight years of the Maclean's/Decima poll—36 per cent, compared with 25 per cent in 1984 and a mere 16 per cent in 1988, its lowest point. Similarly, 39 per cent said that they were either "pessimistic" or "very pessimistic" about their future economic prospects. That compared with 26 per cent in 1984 and 13 per cent in 1988.

The gloom mood is also reflected in the emphasis that respondents placed on economic issues. Asked to identify the country's top problem, 34 per cent said unemployment—twice as many as in 1988. Together with closely related economic issues cited by respondents, that total rose to 42 per cent. In all, including the 20 per cent of respondents who cited taxes and those who referred to similar problems, more than half of the poll respondents named an economic issue as one of or another as the country's top problem—far more than the 13 per cent who singled out

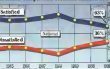
national unity as the nation's principal concern. Although widespread concern for the economy's poor health was evident in every province, there were significant regional differences in the emphasis that respondents put on specific economic and financial issues. Thirty-six per cent of Atlantic Canadians said that

ASSESSING THE RECESSION

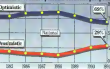
Is the economy improving? Getting worse?

National	1988	1990	1991
Getting worse	58	96	55
Not changing	24	6	35
Improving	17	4	9

Satisfaction with personal economic situation now



Optimism over future personal economic prospects



unemployment was the top problem, compared with 26 per cent of Quebecers, 13 per cent of Ontarians, 16 per cent of British Columbian and only 11 per cent of respondents in the three Prairie provinces. The proportion of poll respondents who cited taxes as the top problem, meanwhile, ranged from 25 per cent in Ontario to six per cent as each of Quebec,

Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia. British Columbians stood out among the most contented Canadians. Fourteen per cent of the respondents in that province said that they were "very satisfied" with their personal economic situation, roughly twice the national average. In addition, 19 per cent of British Columbians said that they were pessimistic about their future economic prospects, in Ontario and Quebec, the rates were 38 and 33 per cent, respectively.

The survey also offered insights into the moods of different age, income and education groups. Respondents aged 65 and older were significantly more satisfied with their economic situation than other Canadians. Students and those with university education also reported levels of contentment that were higher than the national average. Similarly, respondents with university education and those still in school were more likely to express optimism about their future economic prospects. Among the least satisfied and least optimistic were high school dropouts and those earning less than \$16,000 a year. Twenty-two per cent of high-school dropouts expressed pessimism as the most pressing national problem.

Overall, the results of the poll suggested that Canadians have little faith in the economy's ability to stage a sustained recovery at any time in the near future. If there is a glimpse of hope in the findings, it is that the national mood does not appear to be as bleak as was a year ago, when 60 per cent of those polled said that they believed the country was heading into a period of recession. But with a clear majority of respondents in the year's survey offering the view that the economy seems to be getting even worse, the likelihood that consumers will reach into their pockets and unleash

on a spending spree early in 1992 appears remote at best. As the new year begins, for too many Canadians are worried about keeping their jobs and paying their debts to be comforted by the statistics that may indicate that conditions are improving slowly.

ROSS LAYZER

Cross-Canada Opinions



Skaters on the Rideau Canal below Parliament Hill: many Canadians are anxious about the economy, led up with politics

HOW THE POLL WAS CONDUCTED

Results in the eighth annual Maclean's/Decima poll are based on 2,637 interviews conducted with Canadian residents 15 years or older in all 10 provinces, by telephone from Nov. 19 through Nov. 26.

National results are based on a proportionate, weighted sample of 1,560 of the poll respondents, and are considered accurate within a range of 2 to 6 percentage points above or below the figures given. 19 cities out of 20: The other 191 interviews were conducted to increase the reliability of results in Quebec, Manitoba and Saskatchewan. Regional results here and on previous pages are considered accurate within a range above or below figures cited, 15 in 20 times, of 4-6 percentage points in Quebec, 4-2 points in Ontario, 7-3 points in British Columbia, 5-5 points in Alberta, 9-8 points in Saskatchewan and Manitoba, and 8-6 points in the Atlantic region.

Results are presented in percentages of those polled, rounded off to the nearest whole number (for example, 12 represents the range from 11.5 to 12.4). For that reason, and because non-answers are eliminated in some

charts and tables, the totals in all cases may not add to 100. Figures following DECIMA represent the percentage of those who said that they did not know or chose not to answer a question. Results of responses nationally in the tables are indicated as Nat., in Quebec alone as Que., outside Quebec as R/C (rest of Canada).

1. In your opinion, what is the most important problem facing Canada today, the one that concerns you the most? (Responses grouped)	
Unemployment	18
The economy	18
The economy & unemployment	8
National unity/Quebec issues	13
Taxes/Goods and Services Tax	10
Government/government spending	10
The deficit	4
Environment	12
Other	5
DK/NA	2

2. How satisfied are you with your own personal economic situation now?	
Very dissatisfied	12
Dissatisfied	35

3. Thinking about the future, in general, would you say of your personal economic prospects that you are:	
Very pessimistic?	6
Pessimistic?	69

4. In your view, is the economy in Canada beginning to improve, not changing or getting worse?	
Getting worse	56
Not changing	35
Improving	9

5. What do you look to most to look after your best economic interests—government, business or unions?	
Government	27
Business	45
Unions	18

6. If you had a problem in your community that affected a large number of people in your area, who do you think you would be most likely to turn to for assistance?	
An elected politician in your area	33
A local business leader	7
A voluntary organization in your area	10
A group of neighbors	21
Board	21

7. Thinking about your federal member of Parliament, in your opinion, how should your MP vote in the House of Commons to represent issues facing Canada? Should your MP vote according to:	
The majority view in his or her constituency?	67
His or her own conscience and beliefs?	23
The policies of his or her political party?	9

8. Supporters of the three main political parties say that their party can make a real difference in the type of government we receive. Others say that it doesn't matter which of the main political parties is in power because, in the end, they would all govern pretty much the same. Which one of these two views best represents your own?	
Can make a real difference	24
All govern pretty much the same	74

9. And in your view, do you think Canada needs a new political party that will provide an alternative to the main political parties, or do you think that the main political parties really need to give Canadians a clearer view of their positions on the issues?	
A new political party	35
Clearer view by main parties	63

Asked outside Quebec only

10. How likely is it that you personally will vote for the Reform party in the next election, if that party has a candidate in your area?	
Not likely at all	29
Somewhat likely	27

If "somewhat" or "very" likely, outside Quebec only

11. And, in your view, which of the following is the most reason that you would consider voting for the Reform party? Is it because that party:	
Could not do worse than the main parties?	24
Is the only party which takes the issues of English-Canadians seriously?	9
Is the only party prepared to stand up to Quebec?	7
Is the only party prepared to listen to the issues of average Canadians?	50
All of the above	5
None of the above/Other	6

Asked in Quebec only

12. How likely is it that you personally will vote for the Bloc Québécois in the next election, if that party has a candidate in your area?	
Not likely at all	25
Somewhat likely	34

If "somewhat" or "very" likely, in Quebec only

13. And, in your view, which of the following is the most reason that you would consider voting for the Bloc? Is it because that party:	
Could not do worse than the main parties?	17
Is the only party which takes the issues of French-Canadians seriously?	33
Is the only party prepared to stand up to English Canada?	14
Is the only party prepared to listen to the issues of average Quebecers?	28
All of the above	4
None of the above/Other	3

Asked nationally

14. As you may know, the federal and provincial governments have held a series of public hearings that were intended to collect the opinions of Canadians about constitutional and other issues. In your opinion, which of the following best describes your view of these types of public consultations? Would you say that they:	
Have been an effective way for Canadians to take part in government, but we should not do any more?	13
Are an effective way for Canadians to take part in government, but we should never do it again?	36
Are just a waste of time and money?	51

15. Some people have said that we should change the current system of electing MPs so that a local member can be recalled by the people in the riding if they believe that the member is doing a poor job representing their views and positions in Ottawa. Other people say that we should not change the current system of electing MPs and that each elected member should hold the seat until an election. In your view, would you prefer:	
A change allowing recall?	60
Keep current system?	40

16. Some people have said that having two official languages in Canada makes it a more interesting and even better country. Other people say that having two official languages is a source of constant conflict and we would be better off with just one official language. Which one of these two points of view best reflects your own?	
Two official languages	57
One official language	40

17. As you may know, the federal government has recently tabled a package of proposals to change Canada's Constitution. Would you say that you:	
Know them in detail?	4
Know them in detail?	15

18. Overall, would you say of the proposed changes that you:	
Strongly oppose?	13
Somewhat oppose?	36
Somewhat support?	36
Strongly support?	15

Questions 18 & 19 asked of those who heard of/knew proposals

19. Overall, would you say of the proposed changes that you:	
Strongly oppose?	13
Somewhat oppose?	36
Somewhat support?	36
Strongly support?	15

29. And what is the main reason for your attitude to the proposals?
(Smaller responses grouped)

	Net	Que	RuQ
Support/like proposals	18	15	18
Oppose/not like	11	18	8
Should keep country united	12	8	11
Que has lowered too much	9	1	11
Constitution seems to be changed	8	3	7
No fault in past, too involved	8	8	7
Delink distinct society clause	4	1	5
Not good for Quebec	4	16	0
Good for Quebec	1	8	0
Other	13	7	11
Not interested in issue/NOA	24	25	24

30. Regardless of whether you support or oppose the proposals, what is your view as the main problem in resolving the constitutional issue?

	Net	Que	RuQ
A concern that Quebec's French language and culture receive special treatment	20	10	20
The disruption of Quebec as a distinct society	22	20	23
A concern about changes in power between the federal and provincial governments	14	21	11
A lack of understanding of the details	25	22	26
The proposals do not go far enough to keep Quebec in Canada	9	12	7
Other/Can't choose/NOA	11	10	18

31. The federal constitutional package proposes a number of changes to Canada's Constitution and system of government. I'm going to read you a list of some of the proposed changes. I would like you to tell me which one you personally think is the most important change being proposed

	Net	Que	RuQ
Distinct society clauses designed to preserve and promote Quebec's language and culture	15	28	8
Clause which guarantees bilingual people the right to self-government	8	6	15
Clause to protect property rights as the Charter of Rights and Freedoms	14	15	13
Replacement of the Senate by an elected Senate with greater regional representation and expanded powers	35	11	18
Measures to strengthen Canada's economy, including elimination of provincial trade barriers and the subsidizing of services	30	23	42

32. Thinking specifically about the clauses to preserve and promote Quebec as a distinct society, these proposals:

	Net	Que	RuQ
Are just a symbolic gesture that doesn't give the Quebec government any real power	19	22	15
Give Quebec new powers only in the area of language, culture and civil law	29	37	23
Give Quebec powers in the limited range of areas where it did not have power before	40	24	45
NOA	12	7	14

33. In your own personal view, do you strongly support, support, oppose or strongly oppose proposals recognizing Quebec as a distinct society?

	Net	Que	RuQ
Strongly oppose	23	7	39
Oppose	33	13	43
Support	34	62	14
Strongly support	7	17	4

Questions 34 & 35 just only to those opposing distinct society
34. Would you be prepared to see distinct society left in the proposals if it is the only way to get a final agreement?

	Net	Que	RuQ
Yes	42	83	41
No	58	17	58

35. And what is the main reason that you oppose the proposals which would recognize and encourage Quebec's status as a distinct society? Is it because you believe:

	Net	Que	RuQ
They will give Quebec more power than the other provinces	26	9	26
They will lead to the shunt of the English minority by Quebec	12	13	12
They do not go far enough in ensuring the survival of Quebec as a distinct society	3	17	2
They will increase tensions between Quebec and the rest of Canada	30	34	30
Quebec's distinctness is already a fact, including it in the Constitution just makes it harder to reach agreement	28	22	27

Questions 36 & 37 just only to those supporting distinct society
36. Would you be prepared to see distinct society left out of the proposals if that is the only way to get a final agreement?

	Net	Que	RuQ
Yes	58	47	69
No	42	53	31

37. What is the main reason that you support the recognition of Quebec as a distinct society? Is it because you believe:

	Net	Que	RuQ
It simply describes a fact about Quebec society	22	28	20
It is a small price to pay to have Quebec finally join the Constitution	13	7	18
The proposal will give Quebec more power than the other provinces	6	13	5
It is now that all Canadians accept the differences between the two cultures	37	55	38
Quebec's distinct culture and language will be lost without constitutional recognition	17	23	12

Citizens rally in Ottawa for a united Canada compromise



Quebecers on St. Jean Baptiste Day: overtake them in step

38. If the wording of the proposal related to Quebec's position in Canada was changed from "distinct society" to a province with a "unique language and culture," would you be much more likely, somewhat more likely, neither more nor less likely, somewhat less likely or much less likely to accept the proposal as part of the constitutional package?

	Net	Que	RuQ
Much less likely	10	13	6
Somewhat less likely	10	19	11
Neither more nor less likely	26	32	23
Somewhat more likely	36	28	37
Much more likely	14	7	17

39. Once the consultation process is completed, what do you think would be the best way to come to a final decision about constitutional reform?

	Net	Que	RuQ
Have the Prime Minister and the provincial premiers work out a final deal	28	31	22
Select elected Canadians from across the country to work with provincial and federal governments to coming to a final deal	34	30	34
Turn the whole matter over to a large group of Canadians that do not include any federal or provincial politicians	38	30	42

40. And once a final decision has been made, how should the constitutional package be finally settled?

	Net	Que	RuQ
By a vote in a national referendum	48	42	48
By Parliament and the provincial legislatures	11	18	9
Both	42	39	43

41. Which of the following options should be required in order to make the final constitutional changes into law? Should it be approved by:

	Net	Que	RuQ
All 10 provincial legislatures	18	15	19
A majority of the population in each of the 10 provinces	37	21	42
Seven of the 10 provincial governments meet in the hall of Canada's parliament	12	14	11
A majority of Canadians as long as it includes a majority in Quebec	25	48	28

42. Generally speaking, do you think it is very likely, somewhat likely, somewhat unlikely or very unlikely that Quebec will leave Canada if no agreement on constitutional reform is reached?

	Net	Que	RuQ
Very unlikely	25	11	32
Somewhat unlikely	32	22	38
Somewhat likely	26	41	20
Very likely	15	23	13

43. If Quebecers did decide to separate from Canada, do you think that Canada's economy would be:

	Net	Que	RuQ
Much weaker	13	15	12
Somewhat weaker	37	42	35
Neither stronger nor weaker	39	27	30
Somewhat stronger	11	11	11
Much stronger	4	1	0

44. What about Quebec's economy? If Quebec decided to separate, do you think that the Quebec economy would be:

	Net	Que	RuQ
Much weaker	46	24	53
Somewhat weaker	34	34	34
Neither stronger nor weaker	12	21	9
Somewhat stronger	7	10	4
Much stronger	2	3	1

45. If Quebec decided to separate, do you think the rest of Canada should do everything it can to encourage them to stay, or just let them go?

	Net	Que	RuQ
Do everything to convince them to stay	53	59	49
Canada should just let them go	47	39	50

If Quebec did decide to form a separate country, people have made different proposals about what should happen next. Would you find the following suggestions very acceptable, somewhat acceptable, somewhat unacceptable or very unacceptable? (Questions 46 through 48)

	Net	Que	RuQ
Very unacceptable	27	42	21
Somewhat unacceptable	38	31	24
Somewhat acceptable	15	20	27
Very acceptable	21	4	27
No opinion	1	3	1

47. Official bilingualism would end in Canada

	Net	Que	RuQ
Very unacceptable	19	28	12
Somewhat unacceptable	46	36	21
Somewhat acceptable	31	28	32
Very acceptable	25	9	34
No opinion	1	1	1

48. Official bilingualism would end in Quebec

	Net	Que	RuQ
Very unacceptable	20	28	18
Somewhat unacceptable	23	28	18
Somewhat acceptable	32	24	38
Very acceptable	24	12	29
No opinion	1	1	2

49. Canada and Quebec would keep present monetary/economic ties

	Net	Que	RuQ
Very unacceptable	25	9	31
Somewhat unacceptable	19	14	21
Somewhat acceptable	37	63	32
Very acceptable	17	53	19
No opinion	1	1	1

50. Travel between Canada and Quebec would be controlled

	Net	Que	RuQ
Very unacceptable	30	32	29
Somewhat unacceptable	24	30	22
Somewhat acceptable	34	33	34
Very acceptable	11	5	14
No opinion	1	1	1

41. Canada and a separate Quebec would negotiate new agreements on borders and property

	Net	Que	RoC
Very unacceptable	18	18	19
Somewhat unacceptable	34	17	13
Somewhat acceptable	49	65	43
Very acceptable	21	12	24
No opinion	5	2	2

42. Canada and Quebec would cut all ties on social services, including medicine, unemployment insurance and education

	Net	Que	RoC
Very unacceptable	98	30	14
Somewhat unacceptable	75	20	19
Somewhat acceptable	20	38	38
Very acceptable	37	10	49
No opinion	1	2	1

43. Canada would use military force to keep Quebec from leaving

	Net	Que	RoC
Very unacceptable	14	79	74
Somewhat unacceptable	18	37	39
Somewhat acceptable	5	6	6
Very acceptable	2	1	2
No opinion	1	0	1

44. Canada would use military force to protect its interests in Quebec

	Net	Que	RoC
Very unacceptable	47	84	41
Somewhat unacceptable	39	37	34
Somewhat acceptable	21	15	23
Very acceptable	9	3	12
No opinion	1	1	2

45. Quebec would use armed force to get itself out of Confederation

	Net	Que	RoC
Very unacceptable	71	76	70
Somewhat unacceptable	21	18	21
Somewhat acceptable	5	4	6
Very acceptable	5	2	2
No opinion	1	1	1

46. Quebec would use armed force to protect its interests

	Net	Que	RoC
Very unacceptable	56	55	52
Somewhat unacceptable	25	19	21
Somewhat acceptable	16	14	20
Very acceptable	5	2	6
No opinion	1	1	2

47. If you had to describe Quebecers in one word, what would it be? (Similar descriptions grouped in order of use by non-Quebecers)

	Que	RoC
Spaced/lonely/isolated	7	13
Canadian/family/quiet/patriotic	9	6
Very friendly but pragmatic	9	6
Difficult to relate to	15	8
Cold/aloof/unsure/indifferent	6	6
Selfish/greedy	0	7
Stubborn/difficult/unreasonable	3	7
Homeless people	2	9
French/Bilingual	1	6
Good/fit right	3	6
Peace-loving	0	3
Other/NOQA	44	22

48. If you had to describe Canadians living outside of Quebec in one word, what would it be? (Similar terms grouped in order of use by Quebecers)

	Que	RoC
Lucky/unexpected	0	4
Great/superior	0	3
Ignorant/naïve	0	2
Friendly/lovely/likeable	6	12
Unreasonable/unpleasant/ugly	0	3
Practical/unhappy/lost	5	5
Peaceful/quiet/pleasant	4	4
Cold/aloof/unsure/indifferent	4	4
Ordinary/normal/average	3	6
Tolerant/flexible/compassionate	3	12
Canadian/family	3	12
Other/NOQA	47	29



Protest in Montreal during 1970 FLQ crisis: 'unacceptable'

49. Would you describe Quebecers and other Canadians as essentially the same, mostly the same but with some small differences, mostly different but with some small similarities, or essentially different?

	Net	Que	RoC
Essentially different	15	15	14
Mainly different but with some small similarities	15	21	14
Mainly the same but with some small differences	40	28	61
Essentially the same	19	16	20

50. to 53. Which of the following characteristics best describe Quebecers? And which best describe Canadians outside of Quebec?

	Quebecers	Rest of Canada
	Description of Others	Description of Others
Very friendly	37	31
Somewhat friendly	57	68
Somewhat unfriendly	5	13
Very unfriendly	5	3
Very narrow-minded	5	8
Somewhat narrow-minded	35	35
Somewhat open-minded	55	48
Very open-minded	18	8
Very hardworking	25	22
Somewhat hardworking	68	61
Somewhat lazy	13	10
Very lazy	1	2
Very uptight about sex	2	5
Somewhat uptight about sex	8	20
Somewhat open about sex	58	47
Very open about sex	33	15
Very generous	27	14
Somewhat generous	56	61
Somewhat stingy	9	15
Very stingy	3	2
Very imaginative	26	15
Somewhat imaginative	54	62
Somewhat unimaginative	11	15
Very unimaginative	3	4
Very polite	23	16
Somewhat polite	62	65
Somewhat rude	13	14
Very rude	2	2

Questions 54 & 55 asked in Quebec only

54. Have you visited other parts of Canada outside Quebec in the past two or three years?

	Net	Que	RoC
Yes	83	83	83
No	17	17	17

55. If answered "yes" to question 54: How likely do you think it would be that you would visit other parts of Canada outside of Quebec if Quebec decided to form a separate country?

	Net	Que	RoC
Very unlikely	0	6	0
Slightly unlikely	0	9	0
Somewhat likely	37	37	37
Very likely	46	46	46

Questions 56 & 57 asked outside of Quebec only

56. How you visited the province of Quebec in the past two or three years?

	Net	Que	RoC
Yes	85	85	85
No	15	15	15

57. If "yes" to question 56: How likely do you think it would be that you would visit Quebec if Quebec decided to form a separate country?

	Net	Que	RoC
Very unlikely	0	12	0
Slightly unlikely	0	12	0
Somewhat likely	37	37	37
Very likely	46	46	46

58. Of the two official languages, do you speak both English and French, French only or English only?

	Net	Que	RoC
English only	61	4	61
Both English and French	31	95	18
French only	9	35	0



Leaders at March talks, Ottawa, 1990: room for agreement

Questions 59 through 71 asked of those who said they spoke only English or French

After having seen statements that different people have made, for each one, do you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree?

59. Because I am not fluent in both official languages, I resent Ottawa because it is run by a closed club of bilingual elites

	Net	Que	RoC
Strongly agree	11	4	12
Agree	34	27	23
Disagree	46	48	45
Strongly disagree	19	17	19

70. Because I don't speak both official languages, it is more difficult for me to get work in any part of Canada

	Net	Que	RoC
Strongly agree	16	20	15
Agree	33	49	29
Disagree	30	24	40
Strongly disagree	14	8	16

71. I have been able to get along fine speaking only one official language

	Net	Que	RoC
Strongly agree	42	32	44
Agree	37	63	51
Disagree	5	18	4
Strongly disagree	5	2	2

'The Basics Are Right'

The Prime Minister says that he expects to fight the next election—and win

In a year-end interview with *Maclean's*, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, shaking off the effects of a month-long battle with the flu, was by turns relaxed and a bit reserved, sounding at times as though he was already involved in the next campaign. In a 75-minute discussion with *Editor Kevin Doyle* and *Ontario Business Chief Anthony R. Ryan*, he talked about his reactions to the 1992 election results, the Mulroney family, his future, issues involved in the Mulroney-Ginsburg pact, the upcoming economic and personal attacks on his family. *Excerpts.*

Maclean's: After a decade of conservative governments in North America and much of Western Europe, with business support agencies the world is in a deep recession. What next is next?

Mulroney: This year's rate, the prime rate was 17.25. So it's eight inflation was 12.2 per cent, and so it's accumulated at under two per cent. Unemployment was heading towards 12.6 per cent, and it's now at 10.1, which is relatively high.

We as Canada have had two quarters of growth. So I suppose, as a national way, you could say we're in a recovery stage. I think that there's a general acknowledgment that among the administrations that have been made recently was the impact of the Americas [recession]. I don't know of anyone who was saying at this time last year that the American economy was in any shape other than a fairly business case. In fact, that's what pulled Canada out of the recession in 1985 and 1986. Two and a half million jobs in Canada depend on that American market, and 50 per cent of our exports go there. Obviously, that's impacted a great deal. That's the last news.

The good news, of course, is we have a lot of the fundamental right oriented rates, inflation. The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development uniformly said that we were going to lead the industrial world in growth in 1992 and 1993 and that we'll have the second lowest inflation rate, second only to Japan. The dollar has started to come down a bit.

The problem now is one of investor confidence. By "investor," I mean you are not seeing others. Savings are almost at an all-time high in Canada. People are reluctant to make that purchase. They don't see enough viable signs of recovery. With all the structural changes, they're frightened and they don't want to put out any money until they are what's going on.

Maclean's: Do you see any action that your government has made such a big deal out of deficit reduction that you're really left yourself helpless to stimulate the problem?

Mulroney: No, because the catastrophe that was being visited upon us by the Liberals with their reckless spending can be summed up very quickly. Had we not come in in 1984 and done what we did, the deficit, which is going to be \$30 billion this year, would have been \$160 billion or recovered \$138 billion. That's a situation where you're gone. That's 1500 jobs you're missing. You've got the managing director of the International Monetary Fund telling you what to do. You lose your sovereignty when you no longer have the economic strength for that national government to stand behind its decisions.

Maclean's: What do you say to Canadians who expect the current government to understand—and fund—programs to repair the economy and help the country together?

Mulroney: Well, we can put together a new program—we have to go

backwards to do it. Seven years ago [the Liberal government of the day] was borrowing for their luncheon. They couldn't even run the operational rate of the government of Canada in the black. They ran the operational rate in the red. I understood the calamity that they visited on people. I understood that that's the result of profligacy on an unprecedented scale. Canadians are going to have to make up their minds whether they want populism or they want results. They want somebody popular, vote for somebody else. They want somebody who's going to deal with the problems confronting them, they may want to consider us. They won't ever be able to accuse us of not confronting the difficult problems. We've made all of the tough decisions and we've done our best.

Maclean's: In terms of the Constitution, a dispute that we had earlier this month at Moncton and our year-end poll show a great deal of confidence about your new proposals. The prime minister proposed dealing with the economy outside the Constitution and focusing on active self-government, the distinct society and Senate reform in the constitutional package. What is your reaction to that recommendation?

Mulroney: The constitutional proposals have to try to address national problems, but also try to accommodate some legitimate concerns. I think it is difficult to have off two or three questions from a constitutional proposal and meet the requirements that are set. These three ideas. Some people are saying that with our 16 proposals we're taking a double hit and it's too much and don't we should be more temperate or moderate. I suppose I will look at that and we'll wait for the recommendations of the parliamentary committees and others.

Maclean's: On the issue of distinct society, the 12 former members recommended adding a statement in the constitution that changes it up that distinct society would not affect anyone outside Quebec, nor would it be used to make such laws as a French-speaking majority, separate culture and civil law tradition. How do you feel about these changes?

Mulroney: That's just part and parcel of the legal interpretation of the distinct society clause as contained in the *Meiorin* [Lévesque] decision. Moreover, the specificity to which you refer and the definition that is found in the [government's] proposals—was not as defined under *Meiorin* by its very nature. In those provisions only in Quebec because they define a distinct society is referring to a French-speaking majority, civil code and a unique culture and so on. I have no problem with that.

Maclean's: How did you feel personally when you decided to withdraw your name from being considered for the next secretary general of the United Nations?

Mulroney: It came very quickly. I just heard about this on a Tuesday night. I mentioned my intention to withdraw my name on a Thursday morning. So you're really talking about a few days or something like that when this thing was flaring around. I'm very interested in the United Nations and I'm a big supporter of the UN, and I can see the tremendous work that one can do and will be doing there. So that was a very exciting idea, particularly when it became clear that the permanent members of the Security Council were very supportive. I was very grateful for them considering me, but I felt that my responsibility was here. Not the UN secretary general's job is a challenging and inspiring job. Yes, so.

Maclean's: Should Quebec be in a referendum or in some other way be asked to vote on a future Quebec that you should step aside and let someone else argue the federal case?

Mulroney: I don't see anything quite that cataclysmic. Canadians are



going to have to decide a very simple question. Do they want to keep this country, or do they not? If they want to keep it, they know what they have to do. If they want to lose it, they know what to do as well. So which tradition is going to prevail? Will it be the generous, openhearted, nation-building tradition that we've seen for 125 years, or will it be the misanthropic, no-power, [or] power-very-voices that we've heard sporadically over the life of this nation? Can you take a slice out of the heart of a country and leave the country function merely with a slice of its heart gone?

Maclean's: Are you saying that nobody should vote for granted that this will happen without violence?

Mulroney: I'm just saying that nobody should make any strong assumption—that you can chip at a part of the country and the rest of the country is going to continue to function in a safe, calm, effective way, because it may not. No one should assume anywhere that the Vancouver or the Toronto or anybody else [are] exceptions, that there's something in the air we breathe that makes us immune from certain realities. But that once the process begins, that it is going to be self-reinforcing and self and worst and cascading. I hope it is. But I'm just saying no one should make that assumption. It's wrong.

I hope that we will be able to do conduct ourselves that there will not be a referendum, I hope Canadians will have the intelligence and the maturity to step back from the chaos and first again the independence of Canada and say, "Let us go again the route of business compromise." If we do we can keep this country together. I hope there won't be a referendum. I hope the Quebec government and the Quebec people will use as what we're doing enough so that they will say "Look! We're making progress. Perhaps there's another way to handle this." Well, there are people in Quebec who still don't talk to members of their own family as a result of the referendum [in 1980].

Maclean's: Would you support a national referendum?

Mulroney: That's a possibility. I have indicated before that the federal government hasn't recognized any of its rights. We would want to be helped in any constitution we did. Why would Canadians be one part of Canada have a right to speak out on a constitutional proposal and somebody else not? It doesn't make any sense to me. I haven't mentioned, nor have I asked the Parliament of Canada to recognize, any of its rights to consult its own citizens.

Maclean's: How you decided definitely to run again in the next election?

Mulroney: I make up my mind on these things at an appropriate time, and I always have. I would see an election probably some time in 1993—or even a year and a half away. A lot of water is going to flow in the meantime between now and then. My expectation is to lead the party into the next election and to form another majority government.

Maclean's: You've had a lot of people taking shots at you and at your family. Do you ever feel like quitting away from all this?

Mulroney: Well, when I'm concerned personally—I thought I'd never be able to say it—but nothing bothers me anymore, about myself. Nothing. I expect nothing from the media and that's what I get. Nothing. So it doesn't bother me at all. I've actually become used to it all. The thing that you never become accustomed to are attacks on your family. [Editor's note: Ontario-based Frank McGuire, a group member was directed at politicians and the media, made

Last year's
UN survey
ranked Canada
as the
2nd best place
in the world
in which to live.

Imagine
what we could do
this year.

Canada 
Something to celebrate

Human Development Index (HDI) 2009 report
the United Nations, based on life expectancy,
comparisons included health and education
life expectancy and human freedom

UPFRONT FOR DE MIVILLAND

A \$200-million order from St. Paul, Minn.-based North-west Airlines Inc. for 20 new Dash 8 commuter planes strengthened the outlook for the money-hungry de Havilland aircraft division at Boeing Canada Ltd. The Toronto-based company, which employs about 4,000 people, has been in red since July 1986.

REPORT FUND-RAISING FALTERS

Carl Friesen, chairman of the Calgary-based Reform party, said that the organization's plans to raise a \$10-million election war chest by February is proving "overly optimistic." The party has collected \$1.5 million since its campaign began in early November.

RETAIL BLOODLETTING

One of the country's oldest and largest clothing chains announced that it was selling out most of its inventory and closing many of its 223 stores. Under the new Toronto-based owner, the store was a subsidiary of Griffin Group Ltd., owners of the Makor shoe-store chain, has until Feb. 15 to prepare a reorganization plan that will include closing unprofitable stores and laying off many of its 1,700 employees. Griffin Group president John Black blocked the reorganization and the GST for the company's troubles.

NEW BIER WARS

The U.S. ambassador said that it will introduce draft orders on importation of beer later in April, unless Ottawa acts before then to comply with an international trade ruling that the provinces discriminate against foreign beer.

THE CRIMBLING CAPITAL

A Public Works Canada study concluded that Canada's Parliament Buildings cost \$220 million in major renovations over the next decade. The paper said that the Prime Tower, Centre Block, Library of Parliament and other buildings are slated to disintegrate in part because the Conservative government has postponed maintenance as a budget-cutting measure.

MESSAGING THE MEDIA

Documents obtained by The Canadian Press under the Access to Information Act revealed that the beleaguered Royal Commission on New Reproductive Technologies spent \$37,000 on a personal image consultant for its chairman, Peter on David Baskin, a Vancouver resident in private life, heard Ottawa media analysts discuss his role in the commission, appointments, speeches and how to handle reporters.



Toronto shoppers hunting for after-Christmas bargains: the recession dampened the retail tax's inflationary effect

CANADA

A YEAR OF THE GST

One of the last pockets of resistance in the village of Estevan, Sask., 40 km east of Saskatoon. One year after the federal Goods and Services Tax took its first seven-per-cent bite out of consumers' pocketbooks, Elwyn Mayr Bradley Coburn will refuse to add the GST to the town's bills for such services as water and garbage pickup. But Estevan's battle is a lonely one. Across Canada most expressed protests against the GST have given way to grudging acceptance. And in Ottawa, where Reform Minister Opa Jelenc predicted at the outset that the new tax would eventually "sell itself" as an evident satisfaction. "People have

**CANADIANS HAVE
LEARNED TO LIVE
WITH THE GOODS
AND SERVICES
TAX—BUT THERE IS
NO LOVE FOR IT**

accepted the tax as a way of life," said Jelenc as the GST approached its first birthday on Jan. 1. "And when the economy rebounds in 1992, Canadians will finally realize the benefits of this tax change that took place."

But in fact, neither an economic rebound nor a surge in optimism for the GST is in view in the coming months. The year-old tax remains mired in controversy and confusion over whether it is achieving the goals that Ottawa initially set for it. Among several conflicting studies is one that shows that the tax may be costing businesses more than half as much to collect as it returns to Ottawa in net revenue. That revenue, meanwhile, has declined to

around \$16 billion from total forecasts of about \$19 billion, because of the downturn in the economy. At the same time, many analysts say that the tax itself is partly to blame for the economy's poor performance. And despite dampening opposition, the tax remains so unpopular that an other government has followed Quebec's lead in proposing to waive some of its provincial sales duties, with the federal sales duties, even though that step could save millions of dollars.

For their part, federal government spokesmen insist that the tax is on track. But that track has been tested since former finance minister Michael Wilson predicted a year ago that the GST would bring in close to the same amount annually as the 13.5 per cent manufacturers sales tax that it replaced. As the recession, higher than expected administrative costs and postponed relations to business and low-income consumers all hit their impact, federal officials revised that projection downward. In fact, government statistics show that other retailers to small businesses and low-income Canadians the GST brought in \$4.3 billion during

the first seven months of the fiscal year, from April 1 to Oct. 31, 1991. If the tax continues to produce revenue at this rate for the rest of the fiscal year, Ottawa should receive close to its revised target of \$16.4 billion.

Ottawa has also stood firmly by its prediction that the new tax would add only minimally to inflation—producing a year-end increase in the consumer price index of 1.4 per cent. In October, the GST Consumer Information Office concluded that the tax pushed up the cost of living by 1.5 per cent in the first half of 1991. But some analysts trace the small scale of that impact to the downward pressure on prices resulting from the recession. Said Donald Ancelet, policy director for the Ottawa-based Consumer Association of Canada: "This recession has been very hard on retailers with low consumer demand. That was a good thing in terms of inflationary impact to bring in the GST."

Other observers say that the tax itself contributed to the economy's problems. Douglas Peters, chief economist of the Toronto-Dominion Bank, for one, claims that the GST has hindered recovery by giving retailers buyers no additional reason not to spend. Said Peters: "The cart is a huge drag on the economy, making it difficult to get out of the recession."

Indeed, for many businesses, the year-old tax has done more than hurt sales: it is also proving very costly to collect. One survey of

25,363 small and medium-sized businesses across Canada estimated that the cost to business of collecting the GST will reach almost \$9.6 billion in 1991. Debra Jolin Belliveau, president of the Canadian Federation of Independent Business, which conducted the survey, "To saddle the economy with \$9.6 billion in unproductive compliance costs is a national tragedy." Jelenc dismissed Belliveau's survey as badly "flawed," noting that Ottawa paid up \$1,000 apiece to small businesses during the GST's first year in order to reimburse them for such one-time start-up costs as the purchase of new cash registers. As well, businesses argue that a rebate equal to the GST they pay in order to produce their products or services. Still, the official controversy surrounding the federal tax appears certain to stifle one measure that could substantially reduce its burden: combining provincial taxes with the GST. That would allow a single bureaucracy to collect both taxes and eliminate the costly requirement for creditors to track and chase debts differently from others when calculating the two taxes. Noted Peters: "It would be an enormous benefit to business to have just one sales tax regime. The whole thing does not make any sense unless the provinces buy in."

In Quebec, where this year's taxes will be merged by July 1, the federal government will retain control over the rate at which the GST is charged, but the province will collect the tax along with its own sales levy, with the transaction showing up as a single charge on consumers' bills. In addition, Quebec's provincial sales tax will be harmonized to cover virtually the same products and services that the GST now covers—a step that officials predict will raise \$700 million in new revenue for the province. And as for the fact, Quebec companies will be allowed to recover tax paid on a cost at business.

But in other provinces, analysts study to follow Quebec's lead. New Brunswick, for one, has firmly rejected the notion of combining its 11-per-cent tax with the federal charge. Debra Peters, Minister Allan Maher. "Every province's analysis is different. We cannot all be the same." Ontario's new government, by contrast, has turned the question of merging that province's eight-per-cent sales tax with the GST over to its Fair Tax Commission. That commission is set to report next summer.

For his part, Jelenc still sounds confident that other provinces will eventually fall into line. Said the federal minister: "One system, one tax, is obviously a far more acceptable tax regime than two systems." Yet Baskin's Canada, however, believes less than the outright abolition of the GST will have its objectives. Declared the mayor: "I want to keep the issue alive until the next federal election, and hopefully people will want to do against it." But with that election unlikely before late-1992, and with the opposition Liberals no longer promising to eliminate the tax, the GST's political fate is more likely clouded than that time on its last day.

TOM PENNELL

THE END OF AN EMPIRE

GORBACHEV'S RESIGNATION MARKS THE FINAL DAY OF THE SEVEN-DECADE-OLD SOVIET UNION



Fighting in the Georgian capital of Tbilisi rebels tried to overthrow a popularly elected president

leaders began an internal power struggle. And while fleeing streets of Moscow, angry, despairing people complained about food shortages and political uncertainty. And on the Soviet parliamentary deputy Mikhail Gorbachev: "We hope for the best—but not expect the worst."

The momentous transfer of sovereignty that obliterated a once feared seven decades ago took place amid profound public cynicism and bitterness, greatest searches by Communist supporters and bloodshed in the holdout republic of Georgia. While world leaders hotly greeted Gorbachev for ending the Cold War and the subversion of Eastern Europe, his own people bemoaned him for taking the drastic, fast-track superpower to the brink of collapse. Nor were the country's leaders, dominated by 69-year-old Russian President Boris Yeltsin, unanimously able to offer much reassurance. At week's end, they were caught in a struggle over the armed forces, nuclear weapons, pricing, border controls and currency.

Despite internal conflicts and the harsh winter prospects, the spotlight last week focused on Gorbachev. Two days before resigning, he said during an interview on Italian radio that he would not try to rally supporters to the com-



Yeltsin: the new lightning rod for discontent

munist, that he added: "I do not believe in this new conspiracy. I believe it cannot survive." However, he told British Prime Minister John Major by phone on the same day that the commonwealth had to be supported. And while the Christian world celebrated Christmas, he announced his resignation in an occasionally emotional 13-minute TV address from the Kremlin office that Yeltsin assumed the following day. Gorbachev told his 240 million countrymen directly: "I leave my post with concern, but also with hope, with faith in you, your wisdom and your spiritual strength." That same day, he handed over to Yeltsin the battered brown leather suitcase containing the launch codes for thousands of nuclear weapons.

World reactions to the resignation followed swiftly. President George Bush said that Gorbachev's legacy "guarantees him an honored place in history." Prime Minister Brian Mulroney called him "one of the leading statesmen of the 20th century." And Major added: "It is a good sign for my people to change the course of history, but that is what Gorbachev has done."

In Moscow, there were mixed reactions to the former Soviet leader—and to a future without him. The daily newspaper *Izvestia* declared that Gorbachev "did it he could." But many Muscovites were less charitable. Daily bookseller Mikhail Seleznev: "He should not have been allowed to resign. He has destroyed everything and he should be made to bring everything back." Scientist Valery Kapun, 42, said that "when I think of the trust we placed in him in the early years, I could say: 'I believe Andrey Andreyevich Gorbachev was too good, too sincere. I think Yeltsin has more resolve.'"

As the historic week unfolded, it was appar-

ent that the political skills of Yeltsin and the other commonwealth leaders he tested to the limit as they strangled to preserve their fragile unity. At a meeting of republican defense ministers, Kazakhstan opposed an earlier plan under which it, Ukraine and Belarus (formerly Byelorussia) would destroy all their nuclear weapons, leaving Russia as the only republic with nuclear armaments. At the same time, Ukraine and Azerbaijan turned down Russia's proposal to keep a large army under central control. Ukraine representative Vladimir Dmytrukov said that Russia did not intend the entire Soviet Union as a result of the commonwealth agreement to allow it to take over the former union's top Security Council seat. Ukraine leaders said they opposed Russia's plan to free their landlocked sea.

Jan. 2 will be disastrous if

wars are not raised at the same time. For the fledgling federation, there was evidence of perhaps even more serious influences at work. In Georgia, the only republic that did not join the commonwealth, dozens of people died in bitter battles between forces loyal to popularly elected President Zviad Gamsakhurdia and national guard members demanding that he resign for behaving dictatorially. And in Moscow and St. Petersburg (formerly Leningrad), thousands of hard-core protesters waving portraits of Lenin and Stalin demonstrated, accusing Yeltsin of embracing economic measures that will create widespread poverty.

The barely silver-haired Yeltsin, who was exonerated public sections by accusing the privates of the elite and demanding crowd-control reforms, will likely replace Gorbachev as the lightning rod for popular discontent in the dreary winter months ahead. Once a maverick outsider, he is now in an uncomfortable position of power. "Yeltsin is the ultimate opposition leader," said one Moscow-based Western expert, who spoke on condition of anonymity. "I don't know if even he has any idea of what role now that he has the power instead of something to rebel against."

In fact, Yeltsin may yet find himself challenged by the man he once mentored. At a farewell reception given by his staff on Thursday, Gorbachev wryly told reporters that although his role had changed, "I am not leaving the political scene." He added cryptically: "I have big plans." He did not elaborate, but it seemed unlikely that the world had seen the last of the man who re-drew the map of Europe.

RAE CORRELL and ANDREW ROZDOLSKI are Moscow correspondents' reports

World Notes

AN ISLAMIC SWEEP

In Algeria's first four parliamentary elections, Muslims had overwhelming wins in a landslide first-round victory over ruling National Liberation Front, which governed the North African country as a Muslim state since independence from France in 1962. The Islamic Salvation Front's moderate leaders called for open relations with the West, but many supporters advocate imposing Islamic law that would reduce women and displace them jobs.

RETURNING THE DEAD

Post-Communist leaders in Beirut released the bodies of 10 American captives. U.S. Marine Corps Lt. Col. William Buckley was abducted in 1983 and, apparently, languished the following year. William Buckley, the CIA station chief in Lebanon, was kidnapped in 1985. Freed American hostage Terry Anderson said that Buckley died in 1985, apparently from a long illness and neglect. Under his auspices, new Western hostages have regained their freedom since August, but eight foreigners have died in captivity.

TOWARDS A NEW YUGOSLAVIA

Germans formally completed the break-away Yugoslav republics of Croatia and Slovenia, which declared independence in June. The European Community has undertaken to recognize the new states as Jan. 15. Meanwhile, officials in Belgrade called for a campaign that would allow a new basis for a Balkan federation that has disintegrated in six months of civil war. The new federation may compromise Serbia, the largest of Yugoslavia's six republics, Montenegro and self-proclaimed ethnic Serb autonomous regions in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

MASSACRE IN PUNJAB

Indian troops launched an extensive search in Punjab for Sikh militants who massacred 50 Indian passengers, all but two of them Hindus. The armed Sikhists went through the train stopping at Hoshiarpur and shooting them. Over the past decade, Sikhs have waged a violent campaign in the northern state of Punjab for an independent homeland.

LIBANAN JUSTICE

Clearly facing military retaliation, Likud leader Yitzhak Rabin said that Israel would not retaliate against the Syrians for the trial of two men allegedly involved in the 1983 bombing of a Pan American jet over London. Rabin said that Israel had 700 people. The United States and France want the two men tried in the West.



Bertin Nadeau: speaking for Canada

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

He is known as *hurdle learner* in English Canada, yet in 1993 he will emerge as the leading edge of the French-English debate, speaking out with well-earned authority on behalf of federals while condemning the rocky borders of separation.

His name is Bertin Nadeau, chairman of Montreal's Uniparc Inc., a food and hardware supply conglomerate that he took over in 1983 and which has grown under his leadership to become Canada's 12th largest company, with annual revenues of more than \$7 billion.

His voice will become as essential as the constitutional trap of war exiles (only eleven 10 months from now because unlike most of the debate's participants, Nadeau's views are almost devoid of emotion). He judges separation with arithmetical precision—and it's on this basis alone that he counts himself a staunch federalist.

His qualifications are impeccable. A native of Edmonton, N.B., he studied at Rhode des Frères business colleges, at Montreal's Quebec's leading graduate business school, where he was professor for seven years along with Parti Québécois leader Jacques Parizeau and later returned to MIT from the Harvard Business School, as well as a PhD in business from Indiana University. Besides directing his own cluster of companies, he sits on such major boards as those of Sun Life Assurance Co. of Canada and the National Bank of Canada.

"I'm a pro-Canada kind of guy," he told me during a recent interview. "The PQ solution of breaking Canada up and viewing the future by trying to run away from the present is too big a risk. This real problem is, too many Canadians see themselves as victims and would rather feel victims for their troubles than solutions to their problems."

Nadeau challenges several premises that he believes are actively influencing the constitutional debate, including the notion that Quebecers would identify the province's cultural heritage and issues quashed at the French language. "Even as Quebec takes over

He judges Quebec separatism with arithmetical precision—and it's on this basis that he calls himself a federalist

political jurisdiction within its own territory, it would relinquish whatever political weight it carries outside its boundaries," he notes. "What future have French-speaking populations outside of Quebec, who make up nearly 20 per cent of North America's francophone? Close to one million Canadians who don't live in Quebec speak, work, create, discuss play and make love in French, and they want to remain connected to the French-Canadian identity. Yet, unlike the Canadian language, Quebec's contribution to the silver weight of U.S. culture declines from 20 million to six million. And what does Quebec get in return? An increase in the authority over Quebec's domestic affairs—this, and nothing more. The capacity for self-determination flows from economic strength, from the influence Quebec can exert on the rest of Canada and the world."

It is a statement about the future viability of Quebec's culture to the health of its economy. "Quebecers claim they're willing to pay some economic price to preserve their culture," he argues. "But a reality there is no trade-off between culture and its supporting economy. On the contrary, cultural and economic viability form an inseparable whole. Each is directly dependent on the other."

This is the heart of Nadeau's thesis—that no political status, even separation, can by itself ensure true collective self-determination. Sovereignty may confer a relative pseudo-freedom on a given territory, but the real source of authority, the foundation for any society's genuine socio-cultural security, comes from economic strength. That's how, he believes, Quebecers achieve the power to decide its destiny, without having to erect the costly and counterproductive barriers of sovereignty.

"Any debate on the political makeup of the country must be grounded in sound economics," he contends. "And what made us prosper in the past will not work in the future. We may not become a Third World country overnight, but little by little our standard of living will move down two, then five, then 10 places in the world rankings." He adds: "Yet we have the opportunity to become the most prosperous of the G-7 countries because in the past we have always lacked one element that proved essential in the success of our American neighbor: their market. Now we have access to it, and Canada has no member state to settle for second or third place."

Dealing with the specifics of Quebec's possible separation, Nadeau sticks to a straight business analysis. "Policy formation during a period of transition would involve serious risks," he predicts. "There could be trade wars as negotiations, some violence—why not? There could be a flight of capital out of Quebec because the people in power here tend to be much more social desirables than profit-seekers. What would happen to our fiscal policies in our debt situation, girls' school? You can't answer accounts when we've got much greater. Considering that everything we already have would have to be put on the table, it's a high-risk strategy for very little payoff."

Nadeau speaks with such authority because he understands the Canadian market much better than most of his Quebec peers. One of his companies, Sodica, employs 1,800 hardware and home-improvement outlets: 40 per cent of them in Ontario and the Atlantic provinces, while another subsidiary, D. H. Hardware, serves another 1,500 hardware outlets across the country. His wholly owned Enerflex Food runs 200 retail outlets and office buildings, with stores in 30 Canadian cities. His biggest holding is a controlling interest in the Sobey's (owners of New Scotland) chain, the country's second-largest food distributor, which supplies more than 2,000 franchised food outlets in Quebec, Ontario, Western Canada and southern California.

Nadeau doesn't expect to lose the federalist fight, but if the separatists win, he has backup plans. "My companies are already organized regionally and provincial lines with autonomous management and separate boards, so we could continue prospering, even in a crisis," he says. "I would stay in Montreal as long as I felt the environmental remained democratic, free business and period. If it went to democratic, I would probably move to the States."

Convinced Nadeau. "If we make the right decisions, we could become the number 1 country in the world. If we fail, God help us."

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The Belgioioia Birdhouse: a Saskatchewan eccentric and his flying machines

FILMS

The animator's art

The NFB celebrates 50 years of innovation

It takes just over seven minutes to tell the story of George's life on film. George was unlucky and unloved. At the age of 5, "he found his mother in the arms of another child," says the narrator. George was lost, lost and short, and worked as a model for a grotesque sculptor. One day, a lamp grew out of his head and turned into a second head, which was very handsome and made him taller. George turned his shirt over his old head, and with his new look, he was suddenly loved, respected—and elected to the highest office in the land. One day, however, a revolution toppled his government and sent him to the gallows. The story of how a man got a head—and lost it—was called *The Lamp*. Directed by Montreal animator John Wilson, it is part of *The National Film Board of Canada's Animation Festival*, a leading collection of short films packaged as a full-length theatrical feature. The festival includes 11 new shorts not seen since the five recent award-winning hits.

Produced to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the NFB's animation department, the anthology is scheduled to play in 350 theatres across North America—including 35 in Canada—during the year. It is the first time that a video-animated theatrical feature has been devoted exclusively to new animation. Since Saskatchewan animator Norman McLaren founded the NFB's animation studio in 1941, the board has produced more than 700 animated films. They

have won over 600 international prizes—including four Academy Awards, out of 25 nominations. With a full-time staff of six producers and 16 animators at the NFB's Montreal headquarters, plus 24 freelancers across Canada, the board is widely regarded as a world leader in animation.

Unlike commercial cartoons, which use an assembly-line method, the NFB's animated films are handmade by their directors. It is a solitary, almost monastic pursuit. And it has produced some highly idiosyncratic styles and techniques. The films compiled in the *Animation Festival* use materials including clay, oils, beads, hair, and glass—as well as traditional methods. For *The Lamp*, Wilson employed a method he calls "oxydization," by which he created characters and backgrounds out of cut-up scraps of paper and cloth. "The art," says Wilson, "is often as the materials you use. It's like incorporating the grain of the wood into a piece of carpentry."

The Belgioioia Birdhouse, directed by Saskatchewan's Bruce DeBorja, was once known to tell the story of Bill George, a turn-of-the-century eccentric who tried to get a flying machine off the ground in Saskatoon. In the age of Hollywood special effects, the film's special machines are including: Wild String, animator Woody Tully weaves a more sophisticated narrative. Painting each frame to

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glass, Tilly tells the story of a man and a woman who live on consecutive floors of an apartment block. Her floor is his ceiling. They pass in the elevator but never speak. They pursue their separate hobbies: she builds a model of the Titanic, and he plays in a string quartet. But their lives connect when water leaking from her bathtub loosens his light fixture. Recently married, Strang is a reluctant role of observation and empathy between strangers.

Scott Hill animators owe as much to the visual arts as to film. Susanne Gervais animation all points to her new film, *The House*, a brilliant deconstruction of the 1889 perspective by Dutch painter Vincent van Gogh. Beginning with a black canvas, the film shows the frenetic layering of brushstrokes up to the completion of the painting three minutes later. In brief, counterpoint, as audience's eyes trace the final selling piece of the artwork up to \$2.9 million. It is a modest comment on two kinds of madness—that of the artist and of the marketplace.

While Tim Smeets, Caroline Leaf picks up where McLaren left off—like the depart-

ment's invasive founder, she scratches her images directly onto celluloid. The result resembles an animated woodcut. It is the steady story of a lonely woman who writes poems on an island, where she lives with her sister. One day, a disturbing visit from a fan shatters their solitude.

Although many are intricate works in the spirit of painting and literature, some, like their commercial counterparts, actually do create cartoons. *Blatky*, directed by Christopher Hutton, offers an amusing romp through the bumpy terrain of Northern Ontario. And Winnipeg animator Richard Gaudin follows up his 1985 Oscar nominated triumph, *The Big Bear*—about a couple squabbling over Semtex, abortion, to the onset of nuclear war—with *The Apprentice*, a black comedy about two fools who court in the Middle Ages. Although there are some inspired touches, including a bunch of backwoodsmen, the film is pervasively mediocre.

But even at its obvious extremes, the 1987 *Political* shows evidence of vividly imagined imaginations at work.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON

The Apprentice: endgame

Maclean's

BEST-IMAGE LIST

FICTION

- 1 *Marlow & Harding Spies*, *Down* (1)
- 2 *Wilderness Tips*, *Animal* (4)
- 3 *Servant*, *Light* (3)
- 4 *WOT: A Radio Romance*, *Killer* (3)
- 5 *Gullin and Solene*, *Barack* (2)
- 6 *The Gates of Ivory*, *Bookie* (5)
- 7 *The Kitchen God's Wife*, *Tan* (6)
- 8 *People of a Very Wise Child*, *Cover* (3)
- 9 *Red Sonch*, *Kennedy* (2)
- 10 *Harold's Ghost*, *Wade*

NONFICTION

- 1 *My Story of My Life*, *Hofmann* (3)
- 2 *Sex of Thomas*, *Wheat* (2)
- 3 *Travels From Nowhere*, *Wade* (2)
- 4 *The Betrayal of Canada*, *Hurst* (1)
- 5 *The Man Who Stays*, *Ward* (4)
- 6 *My Son*, *Worms* (1)
- 7 *Marshall Pines*, *Norman* (2)
- 8 *The Reader*, *Harris*, *Pines*
- 9 *Overlaid*, *Saville* (5)
- 10 *Mulvey*, *Seavoy* (5)

(1) *Fastest last week*

Compiled by Bruce Robinson

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Canada needs more laughter

BY STEWART MacLEOD

This is a terrible time to be looking back to better days, since we're still shaking off the annual onslaught of Christmas reminiscences—you know everyone marching walking through scratchy snow even in Victoria, hearing the sound of sleigh bells and all perfectly happy through love, not gifts.

Mostly, of course, a crack. We've personal memories of standing in the rain, hoping for a Starbucks.

What isn't a crack, though, is the fact that politicians, along with every other politicians, are not what they used to be in simpler times. And nothing is a more poignant reminder of this than the recent death of Joey Smallwood, the peppy former premier whose overriding attitude was to be remembered as the great, whatever Newfoundland. Perhaps he'll come it. What's far more certain is that he'll be remembered as one of the most colorful and entertaining politicians ever produced.

And he was up against some stellar stiff competition, all now gone. Where are the modern-day versions of Wacky Bennett, Tommy Douglas, John Diefenbaker, Maurice Duplessis and, yes, Richard Hatfield and Bill Vander Zant? Where are the leaders who are not afraid to make a joke about their province, their country or themselves? Where, for heaven's sake, is the color?

Who could pick up, you say? Canada does, and rather desperately too. What we don't need are those serious, starchy-eyed, double-dip severity types, who trust in no statistical evidence that it's economically advantageous to maintain unity. What we need is a premier, or any other leader, who smiles at his good—and easy being Canadian. In terms of political entertainment, we've a have-not crisis.

In the collection of funny questions, they might not have made the list either. It was said about New Columbia and Newfoundland being the bookends of Canada. But at least

Where are the leaders who are not afraid to make a joke? Where, for heaven's sake, is the color?

people smiled when he said, "Yeah, a bookend on one end and Eaton's catalogue on the other."

When was the last time you heard a premier ever attempt a laughing remark? And, if you love such recall, more an elected politician who laughed. No, nowadays, when our leaders get together we hear that God-awful word "globalization" or, even worse, "globalism."

Some day, when last laughs have, wouldn't it be fascinating to hear what "globalism" means? And wouldn't it be even more fascinating to know why "cooperativeness" has become the trademark of the Nineties, most if obviously goes back to the changing of commercial transactions? Because we can identify the world's oldest professions, we can answer that question: it began when two bankers went after the same coin in Mississippi.

Getting right back on track here... It's obviously a sign of the times that we feel the necessity to select the new breed of colorless leader, preferably subsided by the weight of hypnosis—someone who can sit, stand, direct obscure constitutional provisions and remain so in countries that we're in a dual state.

And there's no point using into the per-

petuary interest. "The language in the following report may be offensive to some," says the chairman, by way of a clumsy introduction. And discover it was. Not that in 2000—those officers came earlier—but the Prime Minister now stood accused of uttering the dreaded F-word—an accusation he stoutly denied. It was, explained House Leader Marco Amodeo, simply the F-word—whatever that is. Nobody's doing anything to do with globalism. In any event, Parliament as it is, must, bogged down to charges, denials, apologies and other assorted time killers.

And all of it may not be a farce. Not a sign of a latter-day Charlie Van Horne who would never dream of calling someone a liar. To him, the "accusation" must be as much support for the truth as an alibi can be for a marriage licence. Laughter renders apologies unnecessary.

Those were the days when the public actually came to listen to debates, complete with good, defuncted, fast-good giggling. With luck, we could have heard a tape of them on to include Tommy Douglas in one take. The bestial, not leader was ready. "If you do," he replied, "you'll have to stay here in your stomach that you have in your hand." Case closed.

As for the premier as concerned, what's thrown everything out of which was the creation of intergovernmental affairs ministers. Time was when premiers did this. They would meet, meet and talk about problems over lobster, buffalo steak or whatever. Agendas were loose. They actually looked out another. Why, some would even talk, without against embarrassment, about what a wonderful country we had. Wacky Bennett, for one, was pretty good at this, and so was the early Richard Hatfield.

Now, it's the intergovernmental affairs people, armed with briefcase wastebags, who set the agenda—the very people who would be out of work if Canada were to suddenly experience an outbreak of harmony. Mr. Mulroney has—who knows how many—constitutional advisory groups, all filled with experts telling him how to save the country. New week, gang!

It doesn't seem that long since Martin's mood alone as unchallenged leader in the production of colorless premises—these was with us underfoot for a brief period that was the epitome of some promising improvement in Saskatchewan, the modern-day output from some other province makes Martin's most also-ran in these overpriced.

Wouldn't it be a marvelous 1992 project to search someone leader who will make us feel good about ourselves? It's fine for Mr. Mulroney to insist there be no "bitching and whining" in the most meeting of first ministers. But what about the rest of us? We're in such protection.

Incidentally, you hear occasional ranting that: "Conrad Black might get enough as the next federal Tory leader." Trust us, we're taking to say so, but for what we have in mind here he's absolutely a nonstarter. Agreed?

Stewart MacLeod is Ottawa columnist for Thomson News Service.

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